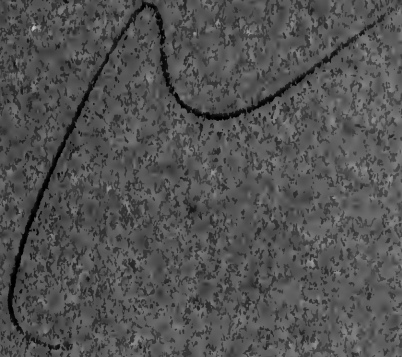
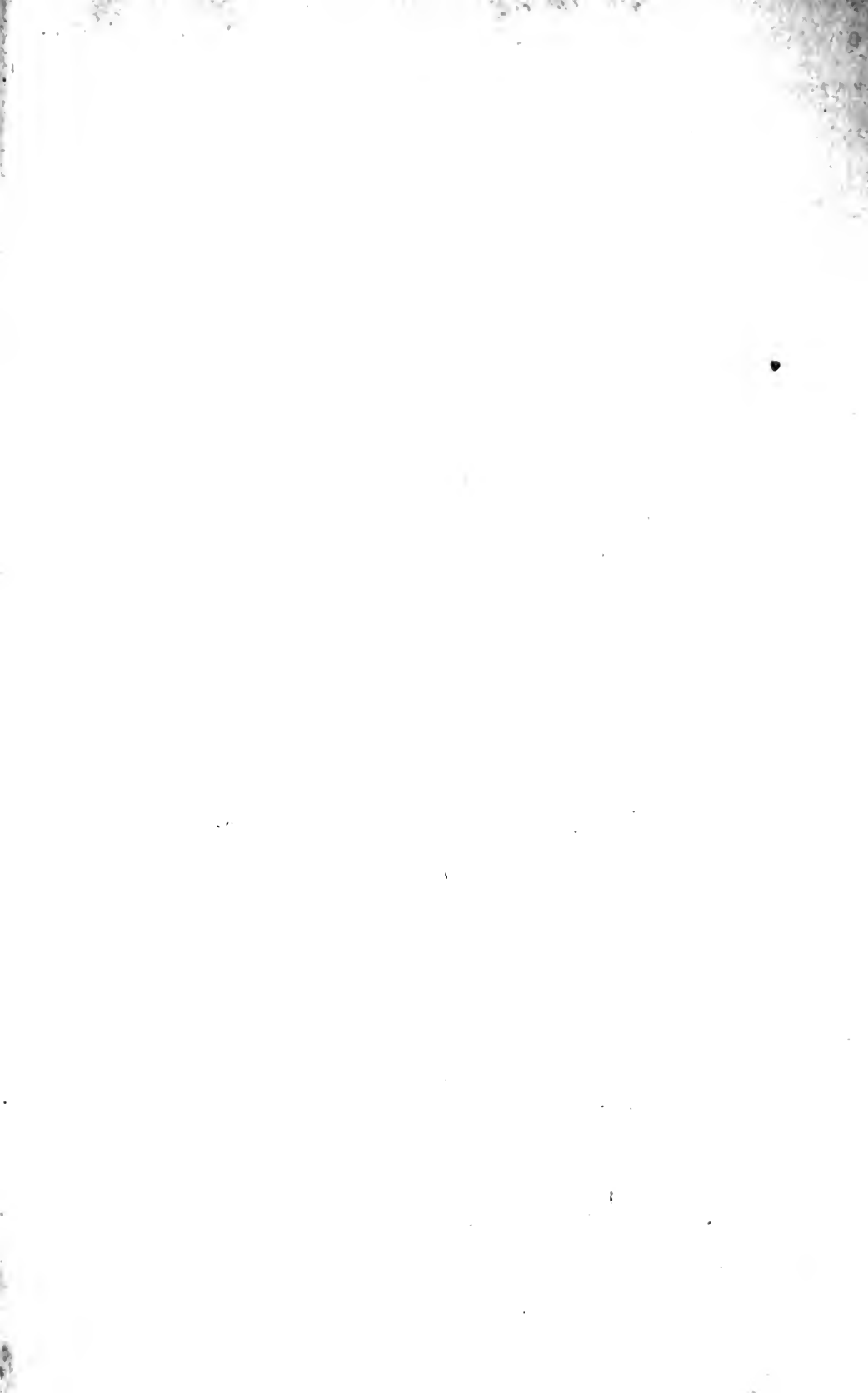






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Re-establishment & Re-endowment,

By an Undergraduate.



Questiones.

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Who are Churchmen?

What is Church government?

“If the Bishops of the.....century had lived under the republic, they would have been illustrious as tribunes of the people.”

Sir J. Stephen's Hist. of France.

“Rights arise by prescription ; and if the State had for a long course of time tacitly recognised a right of private property in these lands, it would have been a manifest injustice thus abruptly to resume possession. But the Licinian Law was evidence that the State claimed a right to interfere with the tenure of the Public Lands.”

Dr. Liddell's Hist. of Rome.

“The admission of the Latins and Italians to full citizenship would infuse a quantity of new blood into the decaying frame of the Roman People ; and, by extending to all Italians the benefits of the Agrarian Law, there was really a good hope of reviving that hardy race of yeomen who were regretted by all Roman Statesmen.”

Dr. Liddell's Hist. of Rome.



“There is a necessity in getting at the good in a piecemeal formation and putting it in its most effective form, of withdrawing the mind altogether for a time from the actual state of things; and a going back to first principles, and examining carefully what is the true object to be striven for. A clear view of the object proposed will suggest a clear outline of the means required.” *Thring's 'Education and School.'*

What was the State just before Christ?

The reign of Augustus Cæsar is the most remarkable epoch in the history of mankind. For the first time, a large part of the families, tribes, and nations, into which the human race had gradually separated, were united under a vast, uniform, and apparently permanent, social system.....The monarchy of Rome was founded on principles as yet unknown; the kingdoms which were won by the most unjustifiable aggression, were, for the most part, governed with a judicious union of firmness and conciliation, in which the conscious strength of irresistible power was tempered with the wisest respect to natural usages. The Romans conquered like savages, but ruled like philosophic statesmen. Till, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, from the shores of Britain, and the borders of the German forests, to the sands of the African Desert, the whole Western world was consolidated into one great commonwealth, united by the bonds of law and government, by facilities of communication and commerce, and by the general dissemination of the Greek and Latin languages.....The frontiers of civilization seemed gradually to advance, and to drive back the still-receding barbarism: while within the pale, national distinctions were dying away; all tribes and races met amicably in the general relation of Roman subjects or citizens, and mankind seemed settling down into one great federal society. (Bk. I. ch. I.)¹

What was the State without the Church?

Man, as history and experience teach, is essentially a religious being. There are certain faculties and modes of thinking and feeling apparently inseparable from his mental organization, which lead him irresistably to seek some communication with another and a higher world. But at the present juncture, the ancient religions were effete: they belonged to a totally different state of civilization; though they retained the strong hold of habit and interest on different classes of society, yet the general mind was advanced beyond them; they could not supply the religious necessities of the age. Thus the world, peaceably united under one temporal monarchy, might be compared to a vast body without a soul. The throne of the human mind appeared vacant;

1. Milman.

among the rival competitors for its dominion, none advanced more than claims local, or limited to a certain class. Nothing less was required than a religion co-extensive at least with the empire of Rome, and calculated for the advanced state of intellectual culture : and in Christianity this new element of society was found. (Bk. I. ch. 1.)¹

What was the Church according to Christ ?

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John ; the same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe.....As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name : which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.....The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.....Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.....Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.....The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth....Ye sent unto John and he bare witness unto the Truth. It is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that *I* speak unto you are spirit and are life...Thou hast the words of eternal Life ; and we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God....I am the Light of the world : he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of Life...He that sent me is true ; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of Him....If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed ; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free....He that is of God heareth God's words....If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death....I am come that they might have Life, and that they might have it more abundantly...Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold ; them also I must bring. And they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd....My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal Life ; and they shall never perish, neither shall anyone pluck them out of my hand....I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness...He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me. And he that receiveth me receiveth Him that sent me....A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another : as I have loved you, that ye love

one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another....*I* am.....the Truth....He shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever,—even the Spirit of truth....He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you....Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you....If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you : herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit ; so shall ye be my disciples....When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth....Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify Thee, as Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal Life to as many as thou hast given him : and this is Life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent....Sanctify them through thy Truth : thy Word is Truth. As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the Truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word : that they all may be one ; as thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us. That the world may believe that Thou hast sent me....My Kingdom is not of this world. If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight ; that I should not be delivered to the Jews : but now is my Kingdom not from hence....Art thou a King then?...I am a King. To this end was *I* born, and for this cause came *I* into the world,—that I should bear witness unto the Truth. Every one that is of the Truth heareth my voice....Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord : then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you ; as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you....And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book ; but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have Life through his name.

What were the extreme notions of heathen Divinity?

The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true ; by the philosopher as equally false ; and by the magistrate as equally useful....The devout polytheist though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit faith the different religions of the earth. Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his

protectors....As soon as it was allowed that sages and heroes, who had lived or who had died for the benefit of their country, were exalted to a state of power and immortality, it was universally confessed that they deserved, if not the adoration, at least the reverence of all mankind....The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory. Every virtue, and even vice, acquired its divine representative, every art and profession its patron, whose attributes in the most distant ages and countries, were uniformly derived from the character of their peculiar votaries....The philosophers of Greece deduced their morals from the nature of man, rather than from that of God. They meditated, however, on the Divine Nature as a very curious and important speculation....As it was impossible for them to conceive the creation of matter, the workman in the Stoic philosophy was not sufficiently distinguished from the work; whilst on the contrary, the Spiritual God of Plato, and his disciples resembled an idea rather than a substance. The opinions of the Academics and Epicureans were of less religious cast, but whilst the modest science of the former induced them to doubt, the positive ignorance of the latter urged them to deny, the providence of a Supreme Ruler. The spirit of inquiry, prompted by emulation, and supported by freedom, had divided the public teachers of philosophy into a variety of contending sects; but the ingenious youth, who, from every part, resorted to Athens and the other seats of learning in the Roman empire, were alike instructed in every school to reject and despise the religion of the multitude. How, indeed, was it possible that a philosopher should accept as divine truths the idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent traditions of antiquity; or that he should adore as gods those imperfect beings whom he must have despised as men.....In their writings and conversation the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and of custom....The magistrates could not be actuated by a blind though honest bigotry, since the magistrates were themselves philosophers....They knew and valued the advantages of religion, as it is connected with civil government. They encouraged the public festivals which humanize the manners of the people....But, whilst they acknowledged the general advantages of religion, they were convinced that the various modes of worship contributed alike to the same salutary purposes; and that, in every country, the form of superstition which had received the sanction of time and experience was the best adapted to the climate and to its inhabitants..... Rome, the capital of a

great monarchy, was incessantly filled with subjects and strangers from every part of the world, who all introduced and enjoyed the favourite superstitions of their native country. Every city in the empire was justified in maintaining the purity of its ancient ceremonies; and the Roman senate, using the common privilege, sometimes interposed to check this inundation of foreign rites. The Egyptian superstition, of all the most contemptible and abject, was frequently prohibited; the temples of Serapis and Isis demolished, and their worshippers banished from Rome and Italy. But the zeal of fanaticism prevailed over the cold and feeble efforts of policy. The exiles returned, the proselytes multiplied, the temples were restored with increasing splendour, and Isis and Serapis at length assumed their place among the Roman deities. (ch. II.)¹

What was orthodox High Churchmanship?

Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. They shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God-with-us. There came Magi from the East, to Jerusalem saying, ...we are come to worship him. Out of Egypt have I called my son. He shall be called a Nazarene. Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Blessed are they that mourn. Blessed are the merciful. Blessed are the pure in heart. Blessed are the peace-makers. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil the Law. Whosoever shall do and teach these commandments that are least, the same shall be called great. Except your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out. If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off. It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. Do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward. Pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth. Beware of false prophets. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward. It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment. Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden. Ye shall find rest unto your souls. Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof at

the day of judgment. In the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them. The angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire : there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. He shall reward every man according to his work. The Son of Man is come to save that which was lost. His lord was wroth with him, and delivered him to the tormentors. Didst thou not agree with me for a penny? This is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth, of Galilee. Bind him hand and foot, and take him away and cast him into outer darkness. The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. They that were ready went in with him to the marriage. These shall go away into everlasting punishment : but the righteous into life eternal. I have suffered many things this day in a dream. Many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city and appeared unto many. Teach all nations to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.

James.....to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad.

Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above. Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath ; for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. Receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls. Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this,—to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well : but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin and are convinced of the law as transgressors ; for whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. So speak ye and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty. What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him? The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality : and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace. He that speaketh evil of his brother and judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law and judgeth the law ; but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law but a judge : there is one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy. Behold the

husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain : be ye also patient, establish your hearts ; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. Behold the judge standeth before the door. Take, my brethren, the prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience. Swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath ; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

Papias on Oracles of the Lord.

Unlike the many, I do not take pleasure in those who have the most to say, but in those who teach the truth ; nor in those who relate strange commandments, but in those who relate such as were given by the Lord to the Faith, and are derived from the Truth itself. The days will come, the Lord saith, in which vines will spring up, each having ten thousand stems, and on one stem ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall give five-and-twenty measures of wine. And when any of the Saints shall have taken hold of one cluster, another shall cry out : I am a better cluster, take me, through me bless the Lord. There will be a millenium after the resurrection from the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be exhibited in a sensible form on the earth. Then also shall they which have been deemed worthy of the abode in heaven go thither, while others shall enjoy the delight of Paradise, and others again shall possess the brightness of the city ; for in every place the Saviour shall be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see Him. This is the distinction between the habitation of them that bring forth a hundredfold, and them that bring forth sixtyfold, and them that bring forth thirtyfold : of whom the first shall be taken up into the heavens, and the second shall dwell in Paradise, and the third shall inhabit the city.

What was orthodox Low Churchmanship ?

As if the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how ; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. He took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers in his ear, and he spit and touched his tongue, and looking up to heaven, he sighed and said unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened. He took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town ; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he

saw ought. And he looked up and said, I see men as trees walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up: and he was restored and saw every man clearly. Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. To love Him with all the heart,...and love one's neighbour as oneself is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.

Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you as ye yourselves also know, him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands have crucified and slain.

Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ. Save yourselves from this untoward generation. And ye denied the Holy One and the Just....and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead. Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord, and he shall send Jesus Christ which before was preached unto you. We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard. Against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour. We will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word.

Peter.....to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father through sanctification of the Spirit.

You who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. Though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable. Gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ. Ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and

without spot, who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world. Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently. A spiritual house, an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices. Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. Fear God : honour the king. Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another ; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous. Be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust. Jesus Christ, who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God ; angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him. Let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you in due time, casting all your care upon Him.

Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour. The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you.

Polycarp to the Philippians.

I rejoiced with you greatly, that the firm root of your faith remaineth unto this day, and bringeth forth fruit unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins, even unto death : whom God hath raised up, loosing the bands of hell ; ‘ whom having not seen, ye love ; in whom believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory ;’ into which many desire to enter. Girding up your loins, serve the Lord in fear and truth. Leave vain conversation, and the error of many ; believing in him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory and a throne at his right hand : to whom all things in heaven and in earth are made subject. He who raised up Christ from the dead, will raise us up also, if we do his will and walk in his commandments, and love the things which he loved, renouncing all unrighteousness, love of money, inordinate affection, lying and evil speaking ; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing. Ye may be edified, in the faith that is given you, which is the mother of us all. The widows teach to be sober in the faith, continually interceding for all men, far from all slander, lying, evil speaking, covetousness, and from all evil, knowing that they are the altars of God. He hath promised to raise us from the

dead, and if we believe, and walk worthy of him, we shall reign together with him. Let the young men be unblameable in all things; above all, taking care of their purity, and restraining themselves from all evil: for it is good to be cut off from the desires which are in the world, because all desire warreth against the Spirit. Let the priests be merciful and compassionate to all, bringing back such as are gone astray, visiting all that are weak, not neglecting the widows, the fatherless, and the poor. If therefore we pray our Lord to forgive us, we ought ourselves to forgive. We are all before the eyes of our Lord and God; and we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. Let us therefore serve him in all fear and reverence; being zealous of what is good, abstaining from all offence, and avoiding false brethren, and those that bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy. Leaving the vanity of the many and their false doctrines, let us turn unto the words delivered to us from the beginning. Let us watch unto prayer. Let us persevere in fastings, and with supplication beseech the all-seeing God, not to lead us into temptation; since as our Lord hath said, though "the spirit be willing, the flesh is weak." Let us therefore without ceasing cleave steadfastly to him who is our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, even Jesus Christ, "who himself bare our sins in his own body on the tree;" who "did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;" but suffered all things for us, that we might live through him. They loved not the present world, but him who died, and was raised again by God for us. Stand fast in these things, following the steps of our Lord. Be firm and immoveable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, lovers of one another, gentle to all, despising none. Pray ye for all the saints; and also for all kings, princes, and rulers, and for those who hate you and persecute you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifested in all, and that ye may be perfect in Christ.

What was orthodox Broad Churchmanship?

That thou mightest know the certainty of these things, wherein thou hast been instructed. He would grant unto us that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness before him. The day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace. This child is set for a sign which shall be spoken against. The child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom. After three days they found him in the temple,

sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. Woe unto you that are rich! Woe unto you that are full! Woe unto you that laugh now! Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you! Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall by any means hurt you. He that shewed mercy on him was his neighbour. Then said Jesus unto him, Go and do thou likewise. Take heed and beware of covetousness. So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich towards God. Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required. Behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground? When thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room. When thou makest a feast, call the poor. Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. That which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God. Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted and thou art tormented. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven and destroyed them all: even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is revealed. Hear what the unjust judge saith: and shall not God avenge his own elect? This day is salvation come to this house, for as much as even he is a son of Abraham. Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life. Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth. Art thou the Son of God? and he said unto them, Ye say that I am.

He preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. He spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus and disputed against the Grecians. He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. Sirs, what must I do to be saved? and they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved and thy house: and they

spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. They received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device. This Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands. Of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. I commend you to God and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak. Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and toward men. Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended anything at all. I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat where I ought to be judged..... I appeal unto Cæsar. I send thee to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins.

Paul...to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly things in Christ, according as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love. He hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known unto us the mystery of His will. After that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession. That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him, the eyes of your understanding being enlightened. He hath put all things under his feet and gave him to be the head over all things to the church. God who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us. By grace ye are saved. Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you according to the riches of his glory to be

strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts. I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. He gave some apostles and some prophets and some evangelists and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

Clement to the Corinthians.

Who hath not admired the wisdom and gentleness of your piety in Christ? Who hath not published abroad the exceeding greatness of your hospitality? And accounted you happy, for your perfect, and certain knowledge of the gospel? Ye were all humble-minded, without arrogance, desiring to be subject rather than to govern; more ready to give than to receive; content with the portion God hath dispensed to you; and, hearkening diligently to his word, ye were enlarged in your bowels, having his sufferings always before your eyes. Thus a firm and blessed peace was given to you all; and an insatiable desire of doing good; and a full effusion of the Holy Ghost was upon you all. Being full of a holy intention, ye did with great readiness of mind, and with a pious confidence, stretch forth your hands unto Almighty God, beseeching him to be merciful unto you, if in anything ye had unwillingly offended. But, when all honour and enlargement were given unto you, then was fulfilled that which is written, "My beloved did eat and drink, he was enlarged, and waxed fat, and kicked." Therefore righteousness and peace are now far from you, while many leave the fear of God, are dim sighted in the faith, and no longer walk in the commandments of God, neither have their conversation as becometh the Gospel of Christ; but walk after their own desires, full of unjust and wicked envy, by which death entered into the world. Through envy, the faithful and most righteous pillars of the church have been persecuted even to the most grievous deaths. Through envy did Paul receive the reward of his patience, having been seven times in bonds; having been scourged, stoned; having preached both in the east and in the west; having taught the whole world righteousness. We are in the same lists, and engaged in the same combat. Let us lay aside all vain and useless cares, and let us

come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us consider what is good, and acceptable and well-pleasing in the sight of him that made us. Let us fix our eye on the blood of Christ, and see how precious it is before God, which, being shed for our salvation, brought the grace for repentance to all the world. Let us obey his excellent and glorious will; and imploring his compassion and goodness, fall down before him, and turn ourselves to his mercy. Laying aside all vain labour, and contention, and envy, which leadeth unto death. Let us remember the words of our Lord Jesus, "Be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy; forgive and ye shall be forgiven." By this command and these rules, let us establish ourselves, that so we may always walk obediently to his holy words. Let us be kind to one another, according to the compassion and sweetness of him that made us. And let us hold fast to those who follow peace in sincerity, not with those who "bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart." Let us steadfastly behold the Father and Creator of the universe, and hold fast his glorious and exceeding great gifts and benefits. Let us see him with our understanding, and with the eyes of our soul behold his long-suffering will; let us consider, how gentle and patient he is toward his whole Creation. Take heed, my beloved, that his many blessings be not to us to condemnation, if we walk not worthy of him, doing with one consent the things that are good and well pleasing in his sight. Let us consider how near he is, and that nothing of our words or thoughts is hid from him. Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord continually sheweth us the resurrection which is to come; of which he hath made our Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits, raising him from the dead. Behold the types thereof in every season. All the holy men of old were glorified and magnified; not for their own sakes, or for the sake of their own works, or for the righteousness which they themselves had wrought, but through his will. And we in like manner, being called through his will, in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or godliness, or by the works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by faith, by which the Almighty God hath justified all men from the beginning. What shall we do then, brethren? shall we let go our love, and grow slothful in doing good? God forbid! but let us make haste with earnestness and diligence to fulfil every good work. Even the Creator and Lord of all rejoiceth in his works. How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God? Life and immortality, righteousness and glory, truth and boldness of speech, faith and

confidence, temperance and holiness! If we do whatever is agreeable to his perfect will, and follow the way of truth.

This is the way, beloved, wherein we find our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the high-priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. Through him we can fix our eye upon the height of heaven; through him we behold, as in a glass, the glorious face of the Most High. Through him have the eyes of our heart been opened. Through him our darkened and foolish understanding again rejoiceth in his marvellous light. Let not the strong despise the weak; and let the weak see that he reverence the strong. Let the rich man dispense to the necessities of the poor; and let the poor man bless God, that he hath given one unto him, by whom what is wanting to him may be supplied. Let the wise shew his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. Let us consider whereof we are made, and how we come into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and out of darkness. He who made us and formed us, brought us into his own world, having prepared his benefits for us before we were born. Let every one of you, therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station; preserving a conscience void of offence in all holiness, not transgressing the appointed rule of his service. Love has no schism, is not seditious. Love does all things in unity. By love were all the elect of God made perfect. Let us therefore, as many as have transgressed, pray for pardon; especially those who were the authors of the sedition and schism among you. Who then is generous, who is compassionate, who is full of love among you? Let him say, "If sedition arise through me, if contentions or schisms, I go wherever ye please, I do whatever ye command me. Only let the flock of Christ be again in peace, with the elders who have been set over it." The all-seeing God, the Father of spirits, and Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by him to be a peculiar people, grant to every soul that calleth on his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long suffering, temperance, holiness and wisdom, unto all well-pleasing in his sight, through our high-priest and protector, Jesus Christ.

What were the relations between laity and clergy in the High-church period?

The authority of its (the Church's) highest members the bishops, became more defined, and distinctions were introduced into their order. The circumstances of the times required that power should be centralized, as an expedient conducive to strength and safety; moreover, as their flocks increased in

numbers and in wealth, and as the clergy subject to them were multiplied, the position of the bishops naturally acquired a greater appearance of outward dignity. There seems, however, to be much exaggeration in the statements of some writers, both as to the smallness of the authority which they suppose the episcopate to have originally possessed, and as to the height which it had attained in the course of these (first three) centuries. Even to the end of the period we meet with nothing like autocratic power in the bishops. They were themselves elected by the clergy and people; they consulted with the presbyters in the more private matters, and with the body of the faithful in such as concerned the whole community; even the selection of persons to be ordained for the ministry of the church was referred to the consent of its members generally. (bk. I. ch. VIII. sec. 2.)¹

The commission of grievous error in life or doctrine was punished by exclusion from the communion of the church; and, in order to obtain re-admission, offenders were obliged to submit to a prescribed course of penance. The regulations as to the length and manner of this penance varied in different times, and in the several branches of the church; the administration of it was chiefly in the hands of the Bishops, who were at liberty to exercise their discretion in each case, on a consideration not only of the penitent's demeanor under the discipline, but of his entire history and character. Reconciliation after the heaviest sins such as murder, adultery, and idolatry, was allowed only once to the baptized. In some cases, the whole life was to be a period of penance; in some, reconciliation was not granted even in the hour of death, although the refusal was not meant to imply that the sinner was shut out from the Divine forgiveness. The church's office was not supposed in these ages to extend beyond prescribing the means which might best dispose the sinner's mind for seeking the mercy of God; Cyprian, Firmilian, and other teachers are careful to guard against the danger of imagining that ecclesiastical absolution could forestall the sentence of the last day. The dissensions which took place at Rome and at Carthage in consequence of the persecution under Decius afford abundant evidence of the popular tendency to error in connexion with this subject. The difficulties then felt in treating the cases of the lapsed led to the establishment in some churches of penitentiary priests, whose business it was to hear privately the confessions of offenders, and to direct them in the conduct of their repentance. And towards the end of the third century, the system was further organized by a division of the penitents into

four classes, each of which marked a particular stage in the course, and had a special place assigned to the members in the time of divine service. (bk. I. ch. VIII. sec. III.).¹

The right of the Christian Clergy to "live of the gospel" was asserted and acknowledged from the first. As the church became more completely organized, they were withdrawn from secular business, and were restricted to the duties of their ministry; in the African church of St. Cyprian's time a clergyman was forbidden even to undertake the office of executor or guardian. Their maintenance was derived from the oblations of the faithful; in some places they received a certain proportion of the whole fund collected for the uses of the church; in other places, as at Carthage, provision was made for them by special monthly collections. The amount of income thus obtained was naturally very various in different churches; it would seem that the practice of trading, which is sometimes spoken of as a discredit to the clergy, and forbidden by canons, may in many cases have originated, not in covetousness, but in a real need of some means of subsistence in addition to those provided by the church. (bk. I. ch. VIII. sec. 2.).²

The emperor alone was the general of the republic, and his jurisdiction, civil as well as military, extended over all the conquests of Rome. It was some satisfaction, however, to the senate that he always delegated his power to the members of their body. The imperial lieutenants were of consular or prætorian dignity; the legions were commanded by senators.....Rome, Italy, and the internal provinces, were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the senate. With regard to civil objects, it was the supreme court of appeal; with regard to criminal matters, a tribunal, constituted for the trial of all offences that were committed by men in any public station, or that affected the peace and majesty of the Roman people.....As a council of state, and as a court of justice, the senate possessed very considerable prerogatives; but in its legislative capacity, in which it was supposed virtually to represent the people, the rights of sovereignty were acknowledged to reside in that assembly. Every power was derived from their authority, every law was ratified by their sanction. (Ch. III.).³

After the office of Roman consuls had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital, the præfects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary presidents of that venerable assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence that all municipi-

1. Robertson.

2. Robertson.

3. Gibbon.

pal authority was derived from them alone (ch. xvii.).¹ For nearly three hundred years the church had been providentially left to develop itself as a society unconnected with the powers of this world, and by the time when its faith was adopted by the emperors of Rome, it had attained the condition of a great independent body, with a regular and settled organization. But although it had thus far appeared as separate, it was not incapable of a connexion with the state, in which the religious element should hallow the secular, while the secular power in turn should lend its influence for the advancement of religion. There was, however, danger lest, in such a connexion, one or both of the parties should forget that the church is not a function of the State, but is itself a divinely instituted spiritual kingdom; and while it was thus possible that ecclesiastics might rely too much on the secular power, there was also the opposite danger, that they might assume towards it an authority professedly derived from heaven, but really unwarranted by any Christian principles.....The emperor was regarded as the highest judge in all causes. The bishops of Rome considered it a distinction to be allowed to plead for themselves before his judgment-seat, after the example of St. Paul. But it soon began to be felt that both bishops and presbyters were disposed to carry to the imperial tribunal matters in which the judgment of their brethren had been, or was likely to be, pronounced against them.....In the earlier times, it had been usual for Christians, in order to avoid the scandal of exposing their differences before heathen tribunals, to submit them to the arbitration of the bishops. The influence which the bishops had thus acquired was greatly increased by a law which is usually (though perhaps erroneously) referred to Constantine. It was ordered that, if both parties in a case consented to submit it to the episcopal decision, the sentence should be without appeal; and the secular authorities were charged to carry it out. Many later enactments relate to this subject. In some canons, persons who should decline the bishop's jurisdiction are censured as showing a want of charity towards the brethren. By this power of arbitration, the bishops were drawn into much secular business, and incurred the risk of enmity and obloquy. To some of them the judicial employment may possibly have been more agreeable than the more spiritual parts of their function; but many, like St. Augustine, felt it as a grievous burden and distraction, and some relieved themselves of the labour by appointing clerical or lay delegates to act for them. (Bk. II. Ch. vi. sec. 2.).²

From the time of Constantine the members of the Christian

1. Gibbon.

2. Robertson.

ministry attained a new social position, with secular advantages which had until then been unknown.....They enjoyed a valuable privilege in their freedom from all "sordid" offices, and from some of the public imposts, although still liable to the land-tax, and to most of the ordinary burdens.....Tithes were now paid—not, however, by legal compulsion, but as a voluntary offering, so that we need not wonder to find complaints of difficulty and irregularity in the payment; and a very great addition of riches flowed in on the church in consequence of the law of Constantine which allowed it to receive bequests of property. (bk. II. ch. VI. sec. 7.)¹

The privileges of the clergy in general were on the increase. Their immunities were confirmed and enlarged; the tendency of legislation was to encourage the bestowal of riches on the church, and to secure to it the permanent possession of all that had been acquired.....While the judgment of ecclesiastical matters belonged exclusively to the spiritual courts, the bishops had cognizance also of secular causes in which the clergy were concerned, although in these causes the parties were at liberty either to resort in the first instance to a secular tribunal, or to appeal from the bishop to the lay judge, whose sentence, if contrary to that of the bishop, might become the subject of a further appeal. (bk. III. ch. VIII. sec. 2.)²

The Church has been hitherto regarded as an independent corporation, organized entirely on a model of its own, expanding with the vigour it inherited from heaven, and governed, in the name of its holy Founder, by the prelates who derived authority from Him. But after the imperial coinage bore the impress of religion, and the sovereigns of the east and west were 'patrons' of the Church, its history involved another class of questions; it had entered into an alliance with the State, and as a natural result, its path was in future to be shaped according to the new relations. This alliance did not lead, as it might have done, to an absorption of the secular into the sacerdotal power, nor to complete amalgamation of the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals: yet its strength was often injured by the action of opposing forces, either by the Church aspiring to become the mistress of the State, or by the State encroaching on the province of the Church and suppressing her inherent rights. The former of these tendencies predominated in the west, the latter in the east. The one was diverging into *Romanism*; the other, to dictation of the civil power in adjudging controversies of the faith,—or, in a word, to *Byzantinism*. (ch. II. sec. 2.)³

1. Robertson.

2. Robertson.

3. Hardwick.

External to and independent of the Imperial Law and the constitutions of the new Western kingdoms, was growing up the jurisprudence of the Church, commensurate with the Roman world, or rather with Christendom. Every inhabitant of the Christian empire, or of a Christian kingdom, was subject to this second jurisdiction, which even by the sentence of outlawry, which, pronounced against heretics, assumed a certain dominion over those who vainly endeavoured to emancipate themselves from its yoke. The Church as little admitted the right of sects to separate existence, as the empire would endure the establishment of independent kingdoms or republics within its actual pale. Of this peculiar jurisprudence of the Church, the clergy were at once the legislature and the executive. This double power tended more and more to concentration. In the State all power resided in the Emperor alone; the unity of the empire under a monarch inevitably tended to that of the Church under one visible head.....A people habituated for centuries to arbitrary authority in civil affairs would be less likely to question it in religion. The original independence of the Christian character which induced the first converts in the strength of their faith to secede from the manners and usages as well as the religious rites of the world, to form self-governed republics, as it were, within the social system—this noble liberty had died away as Christianity became a hereditary, an established, an universal religion. Obedience to authority, was inveterate in the Roman mind; reverence for law had sunk into obedience to despotic power; arbitrary rule seemed the natural condition of mankind. This unrepining, uncomplaining servility could not be goaded by intolerable taxation to resistance. Nothing less than religious difference could stir the mind into oppugnancy; and this difference was chiefly centred in the clergy: when a heretic was in power the orthodox, when the orthodox the heretic, alone asserted liberty of action and of thought. In all other respects the law of the Church, as enacted by the clergy, was received with implicit submission. In the provinces, as the Presidents, or Prefects, or Counts, in their regular gradation of dignity, ruled with despotic sway, yet were but the representatives of the remote and supreme central power, so the Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs rose above each other, and culminated, as it were, to some distant point of unity. (Bk. II. ch. v.)¹

Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and

kings, themselves became princes and kings. Their organization was coincident with the bounds of Christendom; they were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence,—the canon law,—co-ordinate with, and of equal authority with the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign. (*Introd.*)¹

What was High-church Christianity at the end of the Vth. Century?

The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that of the old Latin world,—a firm and even obstinate adherence to legal form, whether of traditionary usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by a hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a restrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort.

Africa, not Rome, gave birth to Latin Christianity. Tertullian was the first Latin writer, at least the first who commanded the public ear; and there is strong ground for supposing that, since Tertullian quotes the sacred writings perpetually and copiously, the earliest of those many Latin versions noticed by Augustine and on which Jerome grounded his Vulgate, were African. Cyprian kept up the tradition of ecclesiastical Latin. Arnobius, too, was an African. (*Bk. I. Ch. I.*)²

Latin Christianity at the close of the fourth, and during the first decennial period of the fifth century, had produced three of her great fathers,—the founders of her doctrinal and disciplinarian system,—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine; Jerome, if not the father, the faithful and zealous guardian of her young monasticism, Ambrose of her sacerdotal authority, Augustine of her theology.

Before the middle of the fifth century, the two great founders of the Popedom, Innocent I. and Leo I. (singularly enough each contemporary with one of the sieges and sacks of Imperial Rome by Teutonic barbarians), had laid deep the ground-work for the Western spiritual monarchy of Rome. That monarchy must

1. Milman.

2. Milman.

await the close of the sixth century to behold her fourth Father, the author, if we may so speak, of her popular religion, and the third great founder of the Papal authority, not only over the minds, but over the hearts of men. (Bk. II. ch. IV.).¹

In Constantinople Gregory commenced, if he did not complete, his great work, the 'Magna Moralia, or Exposition of the Book of Job,' at which the West stood astonished, and which may even now excite our wonder at the vast superstructure raised on such narrow foundations.

The book of Job, according to Gregory, comprehended in itself all natural, all Christian theology, and all morals. It was at once a true and wonderful history, an allegory containing, in its secret sense, the whole theory of the Christian church, and Christian sacraments, and a moral philosophy applicable to all mankind....So congenial, however, was this great work to the Christian mind, that many Bishops began to read it publicly in the Churches; and it was perhaps prevented from coming into general use only by the modest remonstrance of Gregory himself; and thus Gregory, if his theology and morals had been sanctioned by the authority of the churches, would have been the founder of a new religion....Compare the Great Morals of Gregory, not with the Book of Job, but with the New Testament; and can we deny that there would have been a new authoritative proclamation of the Divine will?...The historian of Christianity is arrested by certain characters and certain epochs, which stand as landmarks between the close of one age of religion and the commencement of another. Such a character is Gregory the Great; such an epoch his pontificate, the termination of the sixth century. Gregory, not from his station alone, but by the acknowledgment of the admiring world, was intellectually, as well as spiritually, the great model of his age....What, then, was this Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world? Not merely the speculative and dogmatical theology, but the popular, vital, active Christianity, which was working in the heart of man; the dominant motive of his actions, as far as they were affected by religion; the principal element of his hopes and fears as regards the invisible world and that future life which had now become part of his conscious belief?...The growth (of this Christian mythology), which had long before begun, had reached a kind of adolescence in the age of Gregory, to expand into full maturity during succeeding ages.... As God the Father had receded, as it were, from the sight of man into a vague and unapproachable sanctity; as the human soul had

been entirely centered on the more immediate divine presence in the Saviour ; so the Saviour himself might seem to withdraw from the actual, at least the exclusive, devotion of the human heart, which was busied with intermediate objects of worship. Christ assumed gradually more and more of the awfulness, the immateriality, the incomprehensibility of the Deity, and men sought out beings more akin to themselves, more open, it might seem to human sympathies.....Believers delighted in those ceremonials to which they might have recourse with less timidity ; the shrines and the reliques of martyrs might deign to receive the homage of those who were too profane to tread the holier ground. Already the worship of these lower objects of homage begins to intercept that to the higher ; the popular mind is filling with images either not suggested at all, or suggested but very dimly, by the sacred writings ; legends of saints are supplanting or rivalling at least, in their general respect and attention, the narratives of the Bible.Every Christian was environed with a world of invisible beings, who were constantly putting off their spiritual nature, and assuming forms, uttering tones, distilling odours, apprehensible by the soul of man, or taking absolute and conscious possession of his inward being. A distinction was drawn between the pure, spiritual, illimitable, incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, and the thin and subtile, but bodily form of angels and archangels. These were perceptible to the human senses, wore the human form, spoke with human language : their substance was the thin air, the impalpable fire ; it resembled the souls of men, but yet, whenever they pleased, it was visible, performed the functions of life, communicated not with the mind and soul only, but with the eye and ear of man.....The mystery of the state after death began to cease to be a mystery. The subtile and invisible soul gradually materialised itself to the keen sight of the devout.....Hell was by no means the inexorable dwelling which restored not its inhabitants. Men were transported thither for a short time, and returned to reveal its secrets to the shuddering world.

Gregory's fourth book is entirely filled with legends of departed and of departing spirits, several of which revisit the light of day.Such were among the stories vouched by the highest ecclesiastical authority, and commended it might seem by the uninquiring faith of the ruling intellect of this age—such among the first elements of that universal popular religion which was the Christianity of ages.....It is at once the cause and the consequence of the sacerdotal dominion over mankind ; the ground-

work of authority at which the world trembled ; which founded and overthrew kingdoms, bound together or set in antagonistic array, nations, classes, ranks, orders of society. (Bk. III. ch. 7.)¹

What was Low-church Christianity at the end of the Vth century?

Beyond the Euphrates, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith. From Edessa the principles of Christianity were easily introduced into the Greek and Syrian cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes ; but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labours of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome. (ch. xv.)² (However, by the fifth century) in Persia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Magi, Christianity had struck a deep root, and the nations of the East reposed under its salutary shade. The *Catholic*, or primate, resided in the capital : in *his* synods, and in *their* dioceses, his metropolitans, bishops, and clergy represented the pomp and order of a regular hierarchy : they rejoiced in the increase of proselytes, who were converted from the Zendavesta to the Gospel, from the secular to the monastic life ; and their zeal was stimulated by the presence of an artful and formidable enemy. The Persian church had been founded by the missionaries of Syria ; and their language, discipline, and doctrine were closely interwoven with its original frame. The *Catholics* were elected and ordained by their own suffragans ; but their filial dependence on the patriarchs of Antioch is attested by the canons of the Oriental Church. In the Persian school of Edessa the rising generations of the faithful imbibed their theological idiom : they studied in the Syriac version the ten thousand volumes of Theodore of Mopsuestia ; and they revered the Apostolic faith and holy martyrdom of his disciple Nestorius, whose person and language were equally unknown to the nations beyond the Tigris. The first indelible lesson of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, taught them to execrate the *Egyptians*, who, in the synod of Ephesus, had impiously confounded the two natures of Christ. (ch. XLVII).³

The same Oriental tenet (however it may not, at first sight, be apparent) which gave birth to the various Gnostic sects, and to Manicheism, had lain at the root of Arianism, now (in the fifth century) quickened into life Nestorianism and all its kindred race. Arianism had arisen out of that profound sense of the malignancy of matter, which in its grosser influence had led to the Manichean

1. Milman.

2. Gibbon.

3. Gibbon.

Dualism. The pure, primal, parental Deity must stand entirely aloof from all connexion with that in which evil was inherent, inveterate, inextinguishable. This was the absolute essence of Deity ; this undisturbed, unattainted Spiritualism, which disdained, repelled, abhorred the contact, the approximation of the Corporeal, which once assimilating to, or condescending to assume any of the attributes of Matter, ceased to be the Godhead. By the triumph of Athanasian Trinitarianism, and by the gradual dominance which it had obtained over the general mind of Christendom, the co-equal and consubstantial Godhead in the Trinity, had become an article of the universal creed in the Latin Church. Arianism survived only among the barbarians. The East adhered almost as generally to the Creed of Nicæa. The Son, therefore, had become, if the expression may be ventured, more and more divine ; he was more completely not merely assimilated, but absolutely identified, with the original, perfect, uncontaminated Godhead. And yet his descent into the material world, his admixture with the external, the sensible, the created,—his assumption of the form and being of man (which all agreed to be essential to the Christian scheme, not in seeming alone, according to the Docetic notion, but actually and really)—must be guarded by the same jealousy of infecting his pure and spiritual essence by the earthly contagion : that which would have been fatal to the spirituality of the Father might endanger the same prerogative of the Son. The divine and human nature could not indeed be kept separate, but He must be united with the least possible sacrifice of their essential attributes. If (according to Nestorius) the Eternal and Co-equal Word were *born*, this was a denial of his pre-existence ; and to assert that he could be liable to passion or suffering, in the same manner violated the pure spirituality of the Godhead. He proposed, therefore, that the appellation Christ, should be confined, and, as it were, kept sacred, as signifying the Being composed of the blended, yet unconfounded, God and man ; and that the Virgin should be the mother of Christ, the God-man, not the mother of God, of the unassociated divinity. This is the key to the whole controversy. Never was there a case in which the contending parties approximated so closely. Both subscribed, both appealed to the Nicene Creed : both admitted the pre-existence, the impassibility of the Eternal Word ; but the fatal duty, which the Christians in that age, and unhappily in subsequent ages, have imposed upon themselves, of considering the detection of heresy the first of religious obligations, mingled, as it now was, with

human passions and interests, made the breach inseparable. Men like Cyril of Alexandria, in whom religion might seem to have inflamed and embittered, instead of allaying, the worst passions of our nature, pride, ambition, cruelty, rapacity; and Councils like that of Ephesus, with all the tumult and violence without the dignity of a senate or popular assembly, convulsed the East, and led to a fierce irreconcilable schism.....At the same time that Nestorius was banished from Antioch, an Imperial edict proscribed Nestorianism. The followers of Nestorius were to be branded by the odious name of Simonians, as apostates from God; his books were prohibited, and when found, were to be publicly burned; whoever held a conventicle of the sect was condemned to confiscation of goods. But however oppressed in the Roman Empire, Nestorianism was too deeply rooted in the Syrian mind to be extinguished either by Imperial or by ecclesiastical persecution. It took refuge beyond the frontiers, among the Christians of Persia. It even overleaped the stern boundary of Magianism, and carried the Gospel into parts of the East as yet unpenetrated by Christian missions. The farther it travelled eastwards the more intelligible and more congenial to the general sentiment became its Eastern element, the absolute impassibility of the Godhead. (bk. II. ch. 3.)¹

Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy: the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten: houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings: the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war: and those who deserved the favour were promoted in the service of a discerning monarch.....The desire of gaining souls for God and subjects for the church has excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south; and the simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with the colours of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller (Cosmas Indicopleustes), Christianity was successfully

preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the barbaric churches, from the Gulf of Persia, to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians; and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the Catholic of Babylon (ch. XLVII.).¹

What was Broad-church Christianity at the end of the Vth century?

Greek Christianity could not but be affected both in its doctrinal progress and in its polity by its Greek origin. Among the Greeks had been for centuries agitated all those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions; the formation of the worlds—the existence and nature of the Deity—the origin and cause of evil, though this seems to have been studied even with stronger predilection in the trans-Euphratic East. Hence Greek Christianity was insatiably inquisitive, speculative. Confident in the inexhaustible copiousness and fine precision of its language, it endured no limitation to its curious investigations. As each great question was settled or worn out, it was still ready to propose new ones.....In their polity the Grecian churches were a federation of republics, as were the settlements of the Jews. But they were founded on a religious, not a national basis; external to, yet in their boundaries, mostly in their aggregative system, following the old commonwealths, which still continued to subsist under the supremacy of the Roman Prefect or Proconsul, and in later times the distribution of the Imperial dioceses. They were held together by common sympathies, common creeds, common sacred books, certain, as yet simple, but common rites, common usages of life, and a hierarchy everywhere, in theory at least, of the same power and influence. They admitted the Christians of other places by some established sign, or by recommendatory letters. They were often bound together by mutual charitable subventions. Still each was an absolutely independent community....But at the extinction of Paganism, Greek Christianity had almost ceased to be aggressive or creative. Except the contested conversion of the Bulgarians, later of the Russians, and a few wild tribes, it achieved no conquests. (Intro.)³

All great divergencies of religion, where men are really religious (and this seems acknowledged as to Pelagius himself, and still more as to some of his semi-Pelagian followers, Julianus of Eclana

1. Gibbon.

2. Milman.

and the Monastic Cassian), arise from the undue dominance of some principle or element in our religious nature. This controversy was in truth the strife between two such innate principles, which philosophy despairs of reconciling, and on which the New Testament has not pronounced with clearness and decision. The religious sentiment, which ever assumes to itself the exclusive name and authority of religion, is not content without feeling, or at least supposing itself to feel, the direct, immediate agency of God upon the soul of man. This seems inseparable from the Divine Sovereignty, even from Providential government, which it looks like impiety to limit, and of which it is hard to conceive the self-limitation. Must not God's grace, of its nature, be irresistible? What can bind or fetter Omnipotence? This seems the first principle admitted in prayer, in all intercourse between the soul of man and the Infinite: it is the life-spring of religious enthusiasm, the vital energy, not of fanaticism only, but of zeal. On the other hand, there is an equally intuitive consciousness (and out of consciousness grows all our knowledge of these things) of the freedom, or self-determining power, of the human will. On this depends all morality, and the sense of human responsibility; all conception, except that which is unreasoning and instinctive, of the divine justice and mercy. This is the problem of philosophy; the degree of subservience in the human will to influences external to itself, and in no way self-originated or self-controlled, and to its inward self-determining power. In Christianity it involved not merely the metaphysic nature, but the whole biblical history of man; the fall, and the sin inherited by the race of Adam; the redemption of Christ, and the righteousness communicated to mankind by Christ. Pelagius came too early for any calm consideration of his doctrines, or any attempt to reconcile the difficulties which he suggested, with the sacred writings. In his age the religious sentiment was at its height, and to the religious sentiment that system was true which brought the soul most strongly and immediately under divine agency. To substitute a law for that direct agency, to interpose in any way between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, was impiety, blasphemy, a degradation of God and of his sole sovereignty. This sentiment was at its height in Western Christendom. In no part had it grown to a passion so overwhelming as in Africa, in no African mind to such absorbing energy as in that of Augustine..... Augustine and the African bishops summoned to their aid a more powerful ally than even the Bishop of Rome. While the Pope either still adhered to the cause of Pelagius, or but began

to vacillate, an Imperial edict was issued from the court of Ravenna, peremptorily deciding on this abstruse question of theology. This law was issued before the final sitting of the Council of Carthage, in which, on the authority of two hundred and twenty-three bishops, eight canons were passed condemnatory of Pelagianism. There can be no doubt, that the law was obtained by the influence of the African bishops with the Emperor or his ministers? there is great likelihood by the personal authority of Augustine with the Count Valerius. Italy indeed, could hardly refuse to listen to the voice of Africa. This appeal to the civil magistrate is but another instance, that the ecclesiastical power has no scruple in employing in its own favour those arms of which it deprecates the use, the employment of which it treats as impious usurpation, when put forth against it. By this law it became a crime against the state, to be visited with civil penalties, to assert that Adam was born liable to death. The dangerous heresiarchs were condemned by name, and without hearing or trial, to banishment from Rome. Informers were invited or commanded to apprehend and drag before the tribunals, and to accuse the maintainers of these wicked doctrines. In the order issued by the Pretorian Prefects of Italy and the East, to carry this law into effect, not merely were the heresiarchs banished, but their accomplices condemned to the confiscation of their estates, and to perpetual exile.....Thus then, on these men had fallen the ban of ecclesiastical and secular power, and in the West, at least, of popular opinion. Pelagius vanishes at this time from history; he had been condemned by a Council at Antioch, and driven, a second Catiline as he is called by Jerome, from Jerusalem; of his end nothing is known.....Semi-Pelagianism arose in another quarter, and under different auspices, and maintained an obstinate contest for considerably more than a century. This school grew up among the monasteries in the south of France. Among its partisans were some of the most eminent bishops of that province. The most distinguished, if not the first founder, of this Gallic Semi-Pelagianism was the monk Cassianus. The birth-place of Cassianus is uncertain, but if not Greek or Oriental by birth, he was either one or the other, or both, by education. His youth was passed in the Eastern Monasteries, first in Bethlehem, afterwards in Egypt.....Cassianus passed from Egypt to Constantinople, where he became the favoured pupil of that Greek Father whose writings are throughout the most adverse to the Augustinian system. The whole

theology of Chrysostom, in its general impression is a plain and practical appeal to the free-will of man. He addresses man as invested in an awful responsibility, but as self-dependent self-determining to good or evil. The depravity against which he inveighs is no inherited inherent corruption, to be dispossessed only by divine graces, but a personal, spontaneous, self-originating, and self-maintained surrender to evil influences; to be broken off by a vigorous effort of religious faith, to be controlled by severe self-imposed religious discipline. As far as is consistent with prayer and devotion, man is master of his own destiny..... Probably after the fall of Chrysostom, Cassianus settled at Marseilles, and founded two monasteries, one of men and one of women, in which he introduced the severe discipline of the East. Marseilles was Greek, it retained to a late period the character and, to some degree, the language of a Grecian colony; no doubt, on that account, it was congenial to Cassianus.....(he) handed down to a succession of more or less bold disciples the aversion to the extreme views of Augustine. (Bk. II. Ch. 2.).¹

What were the relations between laity and clergy in the Low-church period?

The freemen of antiquity might repeat with generous enthusiasm the sentence of Homer, "that on the first day of his servitude the captive is deprived of one half of his manly virtue." But the poet had only seen the effects of civil or domestic slavery, nor could he foretell that the second moiety of manhood must be annihilated by the spiritual despotism, which shackles not only the actions but even the thoughts of the prostrate votary. By this double yoke the Greeks were oppressed under the successors of Heraclius (d. 642); the tyrant, a law of eternal justice, was degraded by the vices of his subjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion.....I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whose public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconcolasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth and the duration of his reign.....In this dangerous elevation Leo the third supported himself against the envoy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were

undertaken with tempers and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople, and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation. In a long reign of thirty-four years the son and successor of Leo, Constantine the Fifth, surnamed Copronymus, attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall in their portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire..... Calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and her licentious tongue is checked in some measure by the experience of the age and country to which she appeals. Of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates, who are said to have suffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conspicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation visible and permanent. The Catholics hated the person and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppression. They dissembled the provocations which might excuse or justify his vigour, but even these provocations must gradually inflame his resentment and harden his temper in the use or the abuse of despotism. Yet the character of the fifth Constantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. (Ch. XLVIII.).¹

Under the reign of Constantine the Fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the Fourth maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monks whom she drew from their caverns and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene

more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration, a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople, and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly. The Iconoclasts whom she convened were bold in possession, and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work: the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents: the scene was decorated by the legates of Pope Adrian and the Eastern patriarchs; the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church: but they hesitate whether the worship be relative or direct; whether the Godhead, and the figure of Christ be entitled to the same mode of adoration. Of this second Nicene council the acts are still extant; a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly.....For the honour of orthodoxy, at least the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat unfortunate that the two princes who convened the two councils of Nice are both stained with the blood of their sons. The second of these assemblies was approved and rigorously executed by the despotism of Irene, and she refused her adversaries the toleration which at first she had granted to her friends. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained with unabated rage and various success between the worshippers and breakers of the images; but I am not inclined to pursue with minute diligence the repetition of the same events. Nicephorus allowed a general liberty of speech and practice; and

the only virtue of his reign is accused by the monks as the cause of his temporal and eternal perdition. Superstition and weakness formed the character of Michael the First, but the saints and images were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo the Fifth asserted the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their seditious adherents, were condemned to a second exile. Their applause would have sanctified the murder of an impious tyrant, but his assassin and successor, the second Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies: he attempted to mediate between the contending parties; and the intractable spirit of the Catholics insensibly cast him into the opposite scale. His moderation was guarded by timidity; but his son Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts. The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly against them; and the emperors, who stemmed the torrent, were exasperated and punished by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, his widow, Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her measures were bold and decisive. The fiction of a tardy repentance absolved the fame and the soul of her deceased husband; the sentence of the Iconoclast patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes: the bishops trembled, the monks shouted, and the festival of orthodoxy preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images. A single question yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent sanctity; it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century; and as this opinion has the strongest recommendation of absurdity, I am surprised that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the West, Pope Adrian the First accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in the race of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle course between the adoration and the destruction of images, which they admitted into their temples, not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful memorials of faith and history. An angry book of controversy was composed and published in the name of Charlemagne: under his authority a synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at Frankfort: they blamed the fury of the Iconoclasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure

against the superstition of the Greeks, and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long despised by the barbarians of the West. (Ch. XLIX.)¹

Another encroachment on the church arose out of the system of lay patronage, which had become general throughout the West. In some cases the right of presentation to a church expired with the founder; while in others it was continued to his representatives. But patrons were not always content with the power of nominating clerks. Sometimes the builder of a church reserved to himself a certain portion of its revenues; sometimes the church was built on speculation,—the founder expecting to get more than a re-imbursement from the oblations, while he made a composition to pay the incumbent a certain allowance. Against this practice canons were directed, which forbade bishops to consecrate churches erected on such conditions; but the patron was considered to have a legal interest in the preservation and right disposal of the property belonging to his church.....The question of patronage was a fruitful source of disagreements between bishops and secular lords. Canons were passed for the purpose of guarding against abuses on both sides,—enacting that no layman should present or eject a clerk without the consent of the bishop, while, on the other hand, the bishop was forbidden to reject a presentee except on good and valid grounds.....The inducements to make such donations (as estates) were increased by the system of *precarious* contracts, so called because the giver, in endowing the church with his lands, *prayed* that the use of them might be allowed him for his lifetime, or perhaps that it might be continued to one or more persons in succession after him. (Bk. iv. ch. ix. sec. 2.)²

With regard to the income of the clergy, it accrued from the endowments of their churches, and the voluntary offerings of the faithful. The revenues thus obtained were thrown into a common stock, which it was usual, in the Roman church and others, to distribute in four portions, of which one was allotted to the poor, a second to the parish priests, a third to the fabric and expenses of the church, and the remnant to the bishop of the diocese. The administration of the property was left entirely in his hands. Another source of church-revenue were the tithes, which, although they had been claimed on moral grounds at a far earlier date, were not uniformly paid by the Christians of the West until the close of the sixth century. A special law of Charlemagne, 779, enforced the payment on all subjects of the empire, and his neighbours for the most part followed his example. Like the

1. Gibbon.

2. Robertson.

voluntary offerings which preceded them, the tithes were intended for the clergy and the poor ; the bishop of the diocese at first prescribing the allotments, even where he was not himself entitled to a portion. (ch. II. see 1.).¹

Although donations of land were still made to the church, its acquisitions of this kind appear to have been less than in earlier times—partly, perhaps, because such gifts may have seemed to be less required. The clergy, therefore, felt the necessity of turning to the best account the revenues to which they were already entitled ; and especially the tithes. Tithe had originally been levied from the land only, but the obligation of paying it was now extended to all sorts of income.....Many canons are directed to the enforcement of tithes on land newly brought into cultivation ; and many are directed against claims of exemption. Such claims were sometimes advanced by persons who held lands under ecclesiastical owners, and pretended that it was an oppression to require a second rent of them under another name. The council of Ingelheim, held in 948, in the presence of Otho I., enacted that all questions as to tithes should be subject to the decision of the bishops alone ; and a great council at Augsburg, four years later, confirmed the rule.....The amount thus added to the revenues of the clergy must, after all possible deductions for difficulties of collection, for waste, or other allowances, have been very large ; but the individual members were not proportionately enriched. The number of the clergy was greatly increased ; and although the principle had been established that “benefice is given on account of office or duty,” it was considered to be satisfied by imposing on the superfluous clerks the duty of reading the church-service daily, so that they became entitled to a maintenance. (Bk. v. ch. ix. sec. 3.).²

The decrease of gifts to the church has been noted at an earlier date. It seems to have been thought that the endowments were already ample, and the wealth of the clergy and monks, with the corruptions which were traced to it, formed a constant theme of complaint for sectaries, for reformers such as Arnold of Brescia, for visionaries like Hildegard and Joachim, and for satirical poets who now arose in Germany, France, and England. Yet the church's possessions were still increasing by other means. Many advantageous purchases, exchanges, or other arrangements were made with crusaders who were in haste to furnish themselves for the holy war. Much was also acquired by behest ; and the influence of the clergy with persons on their death-bed, together with the circumstance that all testamentary questions belonged to

1. Hardwick.

2. Robertson.

ecclesiastical courts, rendered this an important source of wealth, although in some countries the civil powers already began to check such bequests. And a new species of contract, by which a landowner made over his property to the church, on condition that he should receive it back in fee, was also a means of adding to the possessions of the clergy. For, although these *feuda oblata* differed from the *precaria*, inasmuch as the fief was granted to the donor's heirs as well as to himself, the church not only derived some present advantages from such arrangements, but had a chance of seeing the lineal heirs become extinct, and so of coming eventually into undivided possession of the property. (bk. vi. ch. xiii. sec. 5.)¹

What was Low-church Christianity at the end of the Xth century?

The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess. The mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation *appear* to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense, they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the Son of God: an orthodox commentary will satisfy only a believing mind: intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary; and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the author of the universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet, are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed

of the Mahometans : a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet : his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians* ; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans ; and they struggle with the common difficulties, *how* to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man ; *how* to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness. The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age : the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself ; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. (ch. L.)¹

Under the reign of the caliphs the Nestorian church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus ; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions. Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy ; but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith and obedience to the *Catholic* or patriarch of Babylon, a vague appellation which has been successively applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. (ch. XLVII.)

The Christians of the west were brought by the crusades into contact with the civilisation of the Arabs, new to them in its character, and on the whole higher than their own. After the first blind fury of their enmity had passed away, they learned to respect in their adversaries the likeness of the virtues which were regarded as adorning the character of a Christian knight ; and they were ready to adopt from them whatever of knowledge or of refinement the Orientals might be able to impart.....It was by the crusades that the nations of Europe were first made known to each other as bound together by one common interest. Feudal relations were cast aside ; every knight was at liberty to follow the banner of the leader whom he might prefer ; instead of being

confined to one small and narrow circle, the crusaders were brought into intercourse with men of various nations, and the consequences tended to mutual refinement. And, while the intercourse of nations was important, the communication into which persons of different classes were brought by the crusades was no less so; the high and the low, the lord and the vassal or common soldier, the fighting-man and the merchant, learned to understand and to value each other better (bk. vi. ch. 4.)¹

The Crusades have been called, and justly, the heroic age of Christianity—the heroic age in the ordinary not the Christian sense, that of the Gospel—which would seek her own heroes rather among the martyrs and among the benefactors of mankind. It had all the violence, the rudeness, but also the grandeur, the valour, daring, endurance, self-sacrifice, wonderful achievements, the development of strength, even of craft, which belongs to such a period.....Christianity was content to bring its devotional without any of its humanising influences, its fervent faith, which was assured of its everlasting reward, its strict obedience to all the outward ceremonial of religion, its earnest prayers, its profound humility. But it left out all restraining discipline of the violent and revengeful passions; it checked not the fury of conquest; allayed in no way the miseries of the strife.....There may have been few, but doubtless there were some of all ranks up to princedoms, who in their reckless enthusiasm stripped themselves of all their goods, abandoned their lands and possessions, and reserved nothing but their sword, their horse, and a trifling sum for their maintenance, determined to seek either new possessions or a glorious and saintly grave in the Holy Land. If they had no heirs, it was a trifling sacrifice, if they had, it was a more praiseworthy and truly religious sacrifice to make over their estates to the Church; this consummated the merit of him who had sunk every duty and every tie in the character of champion of the cross.....It is more easy in theory than in fact to draw the line between wars for the defence and for the propagation of the faith. Religious war is too impetuous and eager not to become a fanaticism. From this period it was an inveterate, almost uncontested tenet, that wars for religion were not merely justifiable, but holy and Christian, and if holy and Christian, glorious above all other wars.....The Crusade swept away, as it were, the last impediment to the wedlock of religion with the warlike propensities of the age. All the noble sentiments, which blended together are chivalry—the high sense of honour, the disdain of or passior. for danger, the love of adventure, compassion for the weak.

or the oppressed, generosity, self-sacrifice, self-devotion for others found in the Crusades their animating principle, perpetual occasion for their amplest exercise, their perfection and consummation.....If, finally, the Crusades infused into the mind of Europe a thirst for persecution long indelible ; if they furnished an authority for persecution which wasted continents, and darkened centuries with mutual hostility ; yet Chivalry, at once, as it were, the parent and the child of the Crusades, left upon European manners, especially in the highborn class, a punctilious regard for honour, a generous reverence for justice, and a hatred (perhaps a too narrow and aristocratic hatred) of injustice : a Teutonic respect for the fair sex ; an element in short, of true nobleness, of refinement, of gentleness, and of delicacy. The chivalrous word courtesy designates a new virtue, not ordained by our religion ; and words are not formed but out of the wants, usages, and sentiments of men ; and courtesy is not yet an obsolete term. (bk. VII. ch. 6.).¹

What were the relations between laity and clergy in the Broad-church period ?

In consequence of the agitation excited by Hildebrand, the election of bishops fell into the hands of the clergy, and more especially of the Canons of Cathedrals. It was indeed, admitted by the hierarchial writers that, according to the precedent of early times, the laity ought to have some part in the election. But those whom such writers were willing to admit as representatives of the laity were the great retainers and officers of the church ; the sovereign was declared to be shut out from all share in the choice ; and after the pattern of papal elections, which were now confined to the cardinals alone, the election of bishops came to be regarded as belonging to the cathedral clergy exclusively. It was found, however, that the change in the manner of appointment, instead of doing away with that corruption which had been the subject of such indignant denunciations, had only the effect of transferring it from courtiers to Canons ; and in its new form it worked worse than before, inasmuch as the clergy might choose a bishop with a view of benefiting by his defects, or might make a bargain with him which would be more injurious to the church than any that could be made by a layman. Jealousies, intrigues, and disputed rights, which led to long and ruinous suits, and sometimes to actual war, now became rife, and Frederick Barbarossa had probably good reason for declaring in a well-known speech, that the bishops appointed by the imperial power had been better than those whom the clergy had chosen for them-

selves. In many countries, however, the sovereigns still retained their influence. In France, England and Spain, the king's licence was necessary before an election, and his confirmation of the bishop-elect was also necessary; while in the Sicilies, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden, the king still enjoyed the power of nomination. (bk. VI. ch. XIII. sec. 2.).¹

In their great contest with the empire, the popes asserted the principle of free election to bishoprics and abbacies; but, when they had succeeded in excluding the secular power, they endeavoured to usurp the patronage of such appointments for themselves.....The same policy of grasping at patronage was practised as to other classes of preferment.....The clergy now insisted on a right to immunity from lay taxation—a pretension which, according to the principles of the age, was fair, if it were understood to mean, that the amount of their contributions to public purposes was to be assessed by members of their own order. But the clergy were very commonly disposed to extend it to a claim of entire exemption, whether from national taxes, from local rates, or from tolls on the conveyance of their property and of the produce of their estates.....The question as to the immunity of the clergy from secular justice, which had been the chief occasion of Becket's struggle with Henry II., had not been clearly decided. In England, although that constitution of Clarendon which had especially excited the archbishop's indignation (No. 3.) was not finally abrogated, even after his death, the full acknowledgment of the "rights and liberties of the English Church" in the first article of Magna Charta, may seem to imply a virtual repeal of it. The Church claimed an oversight of the administration of justice, on the theory that the secular powers derived from it their commission to execute justice, and that the Church was still entitled to exercise its right through priests. And on the ground that crimes are also sins, or on some other ground the clergy contrived to bring within the scope of their canons and jurisdiction a multitude of affairs which seemed rather to belong to the secular province (bk. VII. ch. VIII. sect. 5.).²

The exaggerated pretensions which the clergy had set up as to rights of jurisdiction, and of exemption from secular authority, tended to teach to their own disadvantage. In Germany, where the ecclesiastical class feeling of the prelates was modified by their position as great secular lords, it was established that in temporal matters the appeal should be made to the emperor alone; and this was declared, not only by Lewis of Bavaria,

1. Robertson.

2. Robertson.

but by Charles IV. in his golden bull.....The parliament of Paris strongly opposed the hierarchical claims, not only restraining the bounds of the ecclesiastical judgments, but asserting a sort of oversight of them, and assuming to itself the right of judging in some kinds of cases which had hitherto been regarded as belonging to ecclesiastical cognizance ; and the clergy continued to complain that laymen inflicted grievances on them, especially by interfering with their supposed rights of jurisdiction. (bk. VIII. ch. xi. sec. 5.).¹

As the crown became stronger in various countries, the sovereigns showed a disposition to limit the power of the Church in various ways. Thus they forbade appeals to Rome, and the introduction of Roman documents into their dominions, except with their previous knowledge and license.....Thus we find that spiritual courts are forbidden to meddle with the suits of laymen, that the secular affairs of the clergy are brought before secular tribunals, and that such courts exercise criminal jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. (bk. IX. ch. viii. sec. 1.).²

The treaty (of John) with the Pope acknowledged the full right of Langton to the Archiepiscopal See ; it repealed the sentence of banishment against the clergy, and reinstated them in their functions and their estates ; it promised full restitution of all monies confiscated to the royal use, and compensation for other wrongs ; a specific sum was to be paid to the Archbishop, and to each of the exiled bishops ; it released from imprisonment all who had been apprehended during the contest ; it reversed every sentence of outlawry ; and guaranteed the clergy for the future from such violent abuse of the power of the Crown.....“Be it known to all men,” so ran the charter, “that having in many points offended God and our Holy Mother the church,.....we bestow and yield up to God, to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our Lord the Pope Innocent and his successors, all our kingdom of England and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See with the payment of 1000 marks, and the customary Peter’s pence. We reserve to ourselves, and to our heirs, the royal rights in the administration of justice.”.....The king was compelled to submit to the Great Charter. Among the witnesses to that charter, the first were Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry, Archbishop of Dublin. The first article guaranteed the rights of the Church, not indeed more strongly than the charter before granted by the king, and which had received the ratification of the Pope. (bk. IX. ch. 5.).³

In England the kingly power was growing into strength in the

1. Robertson.

2. Robertson.

3. Milman.

hands of the able and vigorous Edward I.; but around it were rising likewise those free institutions which were hereafter to limit and to strengthen the royal authority.....The law became more distinct and authoritative, but it was not the Roman law, but the old common law descended from the Saxon times, and guaranteed by the charters wrested from the Norman kings. It grew up beside the canon law of the clergy, each rather avoiding the other's ground, than rigidly defining its own province.....The clergy were still a separate caste, ruled by their own law, amenable almost exclusively to their own superiors; but they had gradually receded or been quietly repelled from their coordinate administration of the affairs and the justice of the realm.....The king's justices had long begun to supercede the mingled court composed of the bishops and the barons: some bishops sat as barons, not as bishops. The civil courts were still wresting some privilege or power from the ecclesiastical. The clergy contended obstinately, but not always successfully, for exclusive jurisdiction in all causes relating to Church property, or property to which the Church advanced a claim as tithes. (bk. xi. ch. 8.).¹

What was Broad-church Christianity at the end of the XVth. century?

Many of the old traditions, whether social, civil or religious, had been rudely shaken in the conflicts of an earlier date; but it was only in the fourteenth, and still more the fifteenth century, that we behold them tottering to their fall, or actually dethroned.A different but no less portentous revolution (than the decay of the spirit of religious chivalry) had come over all the other faculties of man: he grew more conscious of his freedom, of his personality and of his power. The dim and circumscribed horizon of his thoughts, which heretofore he never dared to pass, and which his fathers deemed impassable, was every day expanding on all sides. A prospect wider, grander, and more full of hope seemed stretching at his feet. The causes that had been conspiring to produce this mighty change were various, and were also acting through a multitude of independent channels. Some may be enumerated thus:—the bold discussions of the later Schoolmen, which, however heartless, had not failed to sharpen and evolve the intellectual powers;.....the frequent intercourse between the Eastern and Western Christians, the westward flight of scholars bearing with them Greek and other manuscripts;.....the cultivation of the modern languages.....But the mightiest agent was the press.....by means of it the ancient sources of instruction had been multiplied indefinitely; reading had become more easy

and inviting, while the rapid diminution thus effected in the price of books, had made them more accessible to every grade of life... Meanwhile a considerable compensation (for the decline of establishments connected with religious houses) had been made in every part of Europe by the founding of Colleges and Universities as well as minor seats of learning.....It is symptomatic of the influence exercised by institutions of this (former) class that they invariably produced the chief antagonists of Roman absolution... In very many, doubtless, no desire of reformation was awakened by the subtle exercises of the schools; and it is certain that no aim was further from the thoughts of those who in the latter half of the fifteenth century were loud in advocating a return to every class of pagan models, and were eagerly engaged in studying the æsthetics and philosophy of Greece: yet even there we must remember that the critical faculty was stimulated in a way unknown to former ages.

Some at length were bent on turning this new light directly on the church. The copies of the Holy Scriptures and the Earlier Fathers were sought out, collated, and in certain cases printed, more especially by scholars like Erasmus, who were thus unconsciously supplying food as well as armour to the champions of a later day. Men needed little penetration to discern that Christianity, at least in its ordinary manifestations, had receded far from its ideal; and although by some these changes were explained on what has since been termed the theory of development, another class of minds would labour to retrace their steps, in bringing back the creed and ritual of the church into more perfect harmony with those of Apostolic times. (Ch. xvi.).

The reformers caused it to be thought allowable to speculate freely as to *God*, and what *appertains to Him*...The propagators of the reformed faith although they took, and rightly took, the holy scriptures as the foundation of theology, yet by no means required that philosophy should rest upon the same grounds. A wide field was, therefore, opened to its enquiries; and thus it became possible for that system of knowledge to be founded and to be developed by the genius of great men, to which we rightly give the first place among philosophical systems—viz. that of *natural theology*, which, setting out from the idea of a supreme Being, undertakes to prove that there is a God: that He exists independently of the world, and that He is the cause of the existence of the world.....The writings of those men, to whom not only their own but subsequent times have assigned the first rank among philosophers, afford proofs that their speculations upon the nature of the Godhead were pursued in a modest and

reverent spirit. In the company, or at least in the train, of this better method of thinking and speaking of God and religion, came that improved philosophy of *human life*.....There can be no doubt.....that it was not till the light of the Reformation had arisen, that a system of practical philosophy, really deserving of the name, could be formed; especially as regards that branch of it, which is rightly considered the most important—the philosophy of moral conduct.....The Reformation may.....justly claim the credit of having applied philosophy to the improvement of morality; and generally, of having brought it back to the common purposes of life.....It did not, however, confine itself within the limits of private life, but having once emerged from the gloom of the schools into the light of day, undertook the *improvement of public life*. The example was set in Great Britain, and speedily followed elsewhere, of discussing those most important questions which relate to the constitutions of states, their administration and government. (*Heeren*.)

Who were the High-church Reformers?

Huss, or John of Wessel, viewed the subject (of Church-penance) differently; they brought it to the touch-stone of antiquity, and grew persuaded that indulgences, at least as they were sanctioned by the popes and schoolmen, were not able to abide the test. A way had been gradually prepared for Luther and his colleagues; and as soon as the half-hearted pontiff, Leo X, was urged to re-affirm the modern theory declaring that the temporal effects of sin may be remitted to the living and the dead alike, by means of the indulgences which he had been empowered to distribute as the almoner of Christ, and of the saints,—the friar of Wittenburg restrained himself no longer. He rushed forward to denounce an antichristian and demoralizing traffic, and at first he carried with him nearly all the better spirits of the age. For Luther had betrayed no wish to criticise the general teaching of the church, to meddle with the continuity of her existence, to subvert her ancient ritual, or disparage her collective voice. The ground which he had occupied was moral rather than dogmatic. He had sought to re-invigorate in man the consciousness of personal responsibility, while he insisted, with an emphasis unequalled since the time of St. Augustine, on the need of individual fellowship with Christ. (ch. xvi.).¹

He was joined at Wittenburg by a more able and less vacillating colleague (than Bucer), Philip Schwarzerd, or Melancthon, whose congenial spirit, while it freely yielded from the first to Luther's influence, reacted with no inconsiderable force on his

instructor, and has left a deep impression on the whole of the Saxon theology. Melanchthon sat at Luther's side in the waggon that conveyed the disputants to Leipzig. He was then only two and twenty years of age, having been born at Bretten, a small town in the Palatinate, on February 16, 1497....After the disputation of Leipzig, we find him addressing a very temperate account of it to his friend Ecolampadius (Hausschein), a Franconian, who had also manifested leanings to the new opinions. He next espoused the cause of Luther with much greater warmth in a reply to the emphatic sentence launched against him by the theological faculty of Paris, (April 15, 1521.). But the sphere of thought for which Melanchthon shewed the greatest aptitude, was that of systematic theology, in which indeed it would be difficult to over-rate the influence he exerted upon the mind both of Germany, and of other European countries. This had been evinced especially by his *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum*, of which three editions appeared in 1521. Though considerably modified from time to time, it kept its old position as the text-book of the Lutheran divines, embracing a calm statement of their favourite points of doctrine, and a formal vindication of their system in the eyes of Christendom at large. One feature in this work is very noticeable,—viz. the array of scriptural proofs which it exhibits, indicating Melanchthon's determination, that all arguments and all authority whatever ought to be subordinated to the written Word of God. (Ch. I. sec. 1.).¹

Who were the Low-church Reformers?

The patriarch of the reformers of this country, (France), was Jacques Lefèvre, who was born in Picardy, at Estaples. When Luther was arraigned before the Diet of Worms, Lefèvre was already verging on the age of seventy. He had travelled far and wide, especially in Italy, where he experienced the fresh impulses that followed the revival of ancient literature. As early as 1512 he was persuaded by his study of St. Paul's Epistles that the received opinions touching human merit were at variance with the genuine form of Christianity; and his friend Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, arriving at the same conclusion, ventured for a while to undertake the reformation of that diocese. Besides enlisting Lefèvre in this work, he made use of the services of William Farel, of Gerard Ruffi or le Roux, and for a short time of Calvin himself. At length, however, when the storm increased, Briçonnet 'took shelter in his mystic obscurity.'...Farel was a native of Gap, in Dauphiné. (born 1489), and on being expelled from France by the denunciations of the Sorbonne, he went to Basel,

and afterwards diffused the principles of the Reformation as far as Montiers in Savoy. A profound impression had been made at Neufchâtel by him, and he proceeded with the same impulsive zeal and eloquence to rouse the slumbering spirits of Geneva. He had actually succeeded in compassing the overthrow of papal power, (August 26, 1535), when a second of his countrymen, the doctor who was afterwards to give an appellation to no inconsiderable party in the Western Church, appeared on the same arena, John Chauvin, Cauvin, or Calvinus, was a Picard born at Noyon, July 10, 1509, his father being one of the notaries in the ecclesiastical court of that place, and secretary to the bishop. At the age of fourteen he indicated a precocious aptitude for classics, dialectics, and philosophy, under the tuition of Mathurin Cordier (Corderius), at the High-School of Paris, and subsequently entered the Universities of Orleans and Bourges, in both of which he studied jurisprudence also with singular devotion and success. His mind, however, had already been directed to the higher fields of theological investigation, and on the death of his father he not only gave himself entirely to these studies, but cast in his lot with an obscure and struggling confraternity at Paris who were bent on expediting reformations in the church.....When the prospects of his party had been darkened in the French metropolis, chiefly through the violence and indiscretion of the members, he fled with some of his companions to Basel (Oct. 1534). It was there, in the society of Bucer, Capito, and other kindred spirits, that he finished the original draft of the *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, ere long advanced to the position of a text-book for the Calvinists in every part of Europe. In it, as finally expanded and revised, they found a masterly statement of their views of Christianity. The work is divided into four books, the *first* relating to our knowledge of God as the Creator; the *second* to our knowledge of Him as the Redeemer; the *third* to the conditions on which man receives the grace of Christ, and the effects that follow such reception; and the *fourth* to the external media and supports by which he is united to the Christian community, and afterwards retained in his connexion with it. In handling these great questions at the age of twenty-seven, the author shews that he had already grasped the leading thoughts that enter into the construction of the system of theology with which his name has ever been associated: for all his bold conceptions of original sin, election, reprobation, church-polity, corrective discipline, and even his peculiar doctrine of the sacraments, are there consistently advanced, although it may be not completely balanced, rounded,

and matured. In all this treatise, more especially if we compare it with Melancthon's *Loci Communes*, we discern not only the effect produced on Calvin by his legal education, but the workings of an independent mind. With him begins the second generation of reformers. While accepting most of the conclusions of Erasmus and the Wittemburg divines, he could by no means view them as indisputable. A course of labourious study concentrated on the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures had been spent in verifying those conclusions, in determining the place of single doctrines in relation to the rest, and in binding all of them together in a modern *Summa Theologiæ*. The speculative and dictatorial element in Calvin's genius had betrayed itself in his contempt for the dogmatical decisions of the church, and his presumptuous undervaluing of the terminology, if not the doctrines, of the ancient creeds. (Ch. II. sec. 2).¹

Who were the Broad-church Reformers?

As Luther stands unrivalled in the group of worthies who conducted what is termed the Saxon Reformation, Zwingli's figure is originally foremost in the kindred struggles of the Swiss. He was born on New Year's day, 1484, and was thus Luther's junior only by seven weeks.....Being destined for the priesthood he sought his elementary education at Basel and Bern, and after studying philosophy for two years at the University of Vienna, he commenced his theological course at Basel under the care of Thomas Wytttenbach, a teacher justly held in very high repute, who belonged to the same school as Erasmus, and besides inspiring his pupils with a love of classical literature, excited them against the more extravagant of the Medieval notions. At the early age of twenty-two, Zwingli was appointed priest of Glarus (1506). He carried with him into his seclusion a passionate love of letters, and especially of that untrodden field of literature which was exciting the profoundest admiration of the age,—the classical remains of Greece and Rome. To these he devoted his chief interest; for although he was not unacquainted with the writings of the Middle Ages, scholasticism had never any charm for him, and exercised but little influence on his mental training. Thus while Luther undervalued the wisdom of the heathen poets and philosophers, Zwingli venerated them as gifted with an almost supernatural inspiration.....Zwingli, on the contrary, had no such reverence for the church (as Luther), and no such bond of union with antiquity. His thoughts were for the most part circumscribed within his native mountains, and concentrated on the parish where his lot was cast. That joyous heart, of which his cheerful

countenance was the unfailing index, had been well-nigh unacquainted with the spiritual tempests in which Luther learned to fathom the abyss of human depravity, and tested the victorious power of faith: and therefore what the Saxon friar undertook as the result of holy impulses and spiritual intuitions, the Swiss clergyman was rather aiming to achieve by the employment of his critical and reasoning faculties. He rose at length to controvert established usages and dogmas of the church, because he had not found them in his careful study of the Greek Testament..... He was appointed to a preachship in the collegiate Church of Zurich (Jan. 1, 1519) where he found a more appropriate arena for his eloquence, and where his force of character at once exalted him to the position he retained during the rest of his life. His efforts had at this period a threefold tendency,—to vindicate the absolute supremacy of Holy Scripture, and establish what he deemed a juster method of interpretation; to purify the morals of the citizens; and to recall the Swiss confederation to those principles of independence on which it had been founded..... We may ascertain the very quick development of the reforming tenets at this epoch from the Sixty-seven Articles, or propositions, which Zwingli offered to maintain before the senate and people of Zurich as early as Jan. 1523. His triumph, in the estimation of his audience, was complete, since all the main positions he advanced were absolutely undisputed. Acting on the principle that every Christian congregation and community is competent to regulate its own affairs. the men of Zurich afterwards proceeded with a large amount of unanimity to place themselves beyond the jurisdiction of the bishop (Oct. 28), and organize a system of church government in accordance with the new convictions. The obvious effect of their proceedings was revolutionary. (ch. II. sec. I.)¹

Who were the Catholic Reformers?

The natural effect of the Reformation had been to put in motion various conflicting opinions upon matters of faith and practice; every man challenging to himself the right of private judgment, and many abusing it. It was, accordingly, the wish of several of the leading Reformers, both on the Continent and in this country, that some general creed should be drawn up by a congress of learned men of all nations, which should bind the whole Protestant community together, and put an end to these mischievous divisions of heart.....The scheme was discovered to be impracticable, and Cranmer then contracted his views, and confined himself to the preparation of Articles for the Church of

England only. It is of great importance to the right understanding of those which he at length drew up, to consider the spirit in which they were framed. Originating in the manner we have said, the principle which dictated them could scarcely have been one of exclusion, but was rather intended to allow a latitude, within certain limits, to a conscientious difference of opinion, and to make the fiery scorpion of bigotry draw in its claws, and concede a just portion of the heavens to other pretensions besides its own. Here, therefore, as in all other of their measures, did the Reformers make their moderation known unto all men, not hoping or desiring to confine religious opinion so closely as thereby to prejudice religious sincerity, nor expecting that the pyramid of a national church would stand firm when set upon an apex instead of a base. On a review of the several works by which the church of England was restored, it can scarcely fail to be matter of admiration and wonder, that so fair a fabric should have risen under the hands of the Reformers out of such disorder, almost at once; that they should have sought out the old ways with so much success in the midst of so much to mislead, and discovered so sagaciously the great land-marks of the church, which had been in so many instances overgrown..... With the gorgeous ceremonies of the church they had grown up in, soliciting their senses on the one hand, endeared, too, by all the holy recollections of their youth and even manhood; and contempt for all decency of apparel and ritual, the natural re-action of former abuses, assailing them on the other, these judicious men yielded themselves to neither extreme, but adopting the *middle way*, left us a church alike removed from ostentation and meanness, from admiration of ornament and disdain of it; a church retaining so much reverence for ancient customs and ancient forms, as not rashly to abolish them, and only so much as not to adopt them blindly.....

With such discretion did our Reformers on the whole retain the good which was in the church of Rome whilst they rejected the evil, putting the one in vessels to be kept, and casting the other away; with such temper did they refuse to be scared by the abuses of past times, or the scrupulosities of their own, into narrowing needlessly that ground on which they invited a nation to take its stand, and which they well knew must be broad to admit of it. And so it came about, that a form of faith and worship agreeable to Scripture and the Primitive church, ensued, which recommended itself to the piety and good sense of the people; to which they reverted with gladness of heart when evil times afterwards compelled them to abjure it for a season;

towards which, those who have since dissented and withdrawn from it have so often seen occasion (or if not they, their children after them), to retrace their steps, and tacitly to acknowledge that whilst they sought meat for their lust, they had rejected angels' food.....Such is our sketch of this great religious revolution : for which, that it came when it did, we have surely, in these days, reason to give God hearty thanks. For to the Reformation we owe it, that in the general advance of science, and the general appetite for enquiry, the religion of the land has been placed in a position to require nothing but a fair field and no favour, in order to assert its just pretensions. We are here embarrassed by no dogmas of corrupt and unenlightened times, still riveted upon our reluctant acceptance by an idea of papal or synodical infallibility ; but stand with the Bible in our hands, prepared to abide by it when rightly interpreted, because furnished with evidences for its truth (thanks to the Reformation for this also !) which appeal to the understanding with confidence ; so that no man competently acquainted with them need shrink from the encounter of the infidel ; or feel, for a moment, that his faith is put to shame by his philosophy. Infidelity there may be in the country, for there will ever be men who will not trouble themselves to examine the grounds of their religion, and men who will not dare to do it ; but how far more intense would it have been, and more dangerous, had the spirit of the times been, in other respects, what it is, and the Reformation yet to come, religion yet to be exonerated of weights which sunk it heretofore in this country, and still sink it in countries around us ; enquiry to be resisted in an age of curiosity ; opinions to be bolstered up (for they may not be retracted) in an age of incredulity ; and pageants to be addressed to the senses, instead of arguments to the reason, in an age which, at least, calls itself profound ! As it is, we have nothing to conceal ; nothing to evade ; nothing to impose ; the reasonableness, as well as righteousness, of our reformed faith recommends it ; and whatever may be the shocks it may have to sustain from scoffs, and doubts, and clamour, and licentiousness, and seditious tongues, and an abused press, it will itself, we doubt not, prevail against them all, and save, too (as we trust), the nation which has cherished it, from the terrible evils, both moral, social, and political, that come of a *heart* of unbelief. (chs. x., XIII.).¹

What was the Catholicity of Anglican theology ?

A sketch of the new document, which constitutes, as we have reason to believe, the basis of our present Articles, appears to have been made as early as the autumn of 1549, if not, indeed,

still earlier. In a letter from Micronius to Bullinger, dated 'London, May 28, 1550,' we discover that some kind of Articles had been already offered as a test to Hooper; and the following extract from one of Hooper's own epistles, bearing date 'Feb. 27., 1549,' enables us to carry back the origin of such Articles into the previous year: 'The archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some *Articles of Religion* to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them. (ch. v.)¹

Three of these Hooper deemed exceptionable, when they were offered to him for subscription in the spring of 1550. He objected to the first because it made use of the expression 'sacraments confer grace,' which he would fain have altered into 'seal' or 'testify to' the communication of grace, [in one of his *Later writings*, p. 45,...'they (i. e. the sacraments) are such signs as do exhibit and give the thing that they signify indeed']; the second because it enacted absolute conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, [the First Book of Edward VI.....'I am so much offended with that Book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the Church in the administration of the Supper']; and the third, because by it he was required to signify his approbation of the English Ordinal.....Allusion has been made already to a series of Articles which Cranmer had begun to use in his own province as early as 1549. A test of this description had become more needful in proportion as the growth of the Reforming party excited deadlier opposition, and as members of it were themselves developing eccentric institutions and irregular modes of action. The Prayer-Book, it is true, supplied one valuable test of orthodoxy, and one powerful instrument for steadying the belief as well as guiding the devotions of the English people; but in order to secure an adequate amount of harmony in preachers, lecturers and others similarly occupied, the want of something more concise in shape and definite in phraseology was felt by many of the English prelates. There is reason to believe that such a manifesto would have been regularly authorized soon after the accession of King Edward, had not Cranmer cherished an idea of drawing the continental Protestants together, and uniting them in one communion with the English church. (ch. iv.)²

After granting that the life of Cranmer was disfigured here and there by human blemishes; after granting that the caution and

timidity of his nature had degenerated, on some rare occasions, into weakness and irresolution, he is still, if we regard him fairly as a whole, among the brightest worthies of his age: to him we are indebted, under God, for much of the sobriety of tone that marks the English Reformation, or in other words, for the accordancy of our present system with the Apostolic models.....A congress of the kind now contemplated by the English primate, was to be attended not by Lutherans only nor by members of the 'mediating school' as represented by the pliant Bucer, but also by the different shades of Swiss reformers, who were now beginning to exert some influence in England. (Ch. v.).¹

Melanchthon, Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, Laski, Dryander, Calvin and Bullinger were all solicited to aid in the adjustment of disputed questions, more especially of that which in the Reformation period was the source of many others,—the doctrine of the Eucharist. Occasional notices importing that such a conference, though postponed from time to time, had not entirely vanished from men's thoughts are traceable until the spring of 1553.....The animus of the English series (of Articles) published in 1553 is found to be accordant in the main with Saxon rather than with Swiss theology. [The chief exception is in the 29th Article of the series ('Of the Lordes Supper'), where the idea of a 'reall and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude' is rejected]. The object of archbishop Cranmer, who had been formally instructed by the court in 1551 to undertake the framing, or at least re-casting, of this manifesto, was to bring about, if possible, 'a godly concord in certain matters of religion.' The church of England, we have seen already, was divided into angry factions. Gardiner and his allies, exasperated by the quick development of reforming principles, no less than by the arbitrary deprivation of members of their party, were devoted even more entirely to the Mediæval doctrines. Ridley, and some others like him, manifested their sobriety by counter-working this reaction on the one side, and allaying the immoderate vehemence of the extreme reformers; whilst a motley group of Anabaptists, openly impugning the most central verities of Holy Scripture, and ever substituting the distempered ravings of their own imagination for the oracles which it delivers, threatened to produce an utter revolution both in faith and worship. Hence the order, form and colour of the Forty-two articles, which after they were made to undergo successive modifications at the hands of Cranmer and his coadjutors, and also of some other scholars and divines, were finally remitted to the royal Council Nov. 24. 1552.

The work continued in their custody until the following March, when at the meeting of the southern convocation, it seems to have been formally submitted to the upper, if not also to the lower house, and ordered to be generally circulated in the month of May. But before the country-clergymen could be induced to welcome this manifesto, its effect was nullified by the untimely death of Edward, who expired on the 6th of July, 1553, not having completed his sixteenth year. Among his last 'memorials' he charged the country to persist in its adherence to the principles of the Reformation, at the same time urging the importance of organizing the ecclesiastical system more efficiently. (Ch. iv.).¹

What reasons chiefly weighed with the Reformers in selecting, the particular subjects handed by them in the Articles of 1553? On what principles may we explain the introduction of this point, or the omission of that? Did they intend us to conclude that their new code of doctrine was put forward as a *system of theology*? Or did they mean it to express the judgment of the English church on a variety of sacred topics controverted in that age, within the limits of her jurisdiction? The internal evidence afforded in the solving of these questions may be stated very briefly. In the title of the English Articles, as published by Grafton, in 1533, they are said to have been constructed with reference to '*certain matters of religion*;' and in all the copies, to have aimed at the 'establishment of a godly concord and the avoiding of controversies' agitated at the time. Two Articles (the 8th and 37th) repudiate errors of the Anabaptists on original sin and a community of goods. Four others (from the 39th to the 42nd) are levelled at as many forms of misbelief relating to the resurrection, the sleep of the soul, the theory of a millenium, and the ultimate recovery of all human beings. The 18th places its anathema on those who dared to rob the Gospel of its claim to absolute supremacy. While the 12th and 13th reject 'the doctrine of the schoolmen,' touching human merit and works of supererogation; and the 23rd their doctrine touching purgatory, indulgences, and other figments which were strenuously defended in all quarters by the anti-reformation party. With regard to the remainder of the XLII Articles, though now impossible to speak with equal certainty, it is not difficult to trace the circumstances which produced them in contemporaneous annals of the English church. As in the case of the Augsburg confession, which those Articles have followed not unfrequently, the authors had an eye in the first instance to existing dangers and emergencies. In other words, their formulary was constructed so as to repel not one but

many different classes of critics and assailants. While protesting vigorously against the over-drawn distinctions and the over-learned figments of the 'orthodox' schoolmen, they endeavoured also to impose a curb on the licentiousness of private speculation, which was hitherto imperfectly kept under by the pressure of the papal yoke. It is indeed impossible to doubt the anti-Romish character of many of the Articles, or to dispute the general want of such a safeguard at the time of its construction; but few persons seem to be alive to the existence of other and of opposite evils, which were threatening not so much the outworks as the citadel of Christian truth. To borrow the emphatic language of an able writer on the period, 'the papal infallibility was sometimes transferred to the leader of a petty sect: at other times a dreaming enthusiast would become his own pope, and would consult nothing but the oracle within his own breast.' That age indeed was a most stirring crisis in the life of Western Europe; when the human spirit, starting up from its long torpor and finding itself free, was tempted to rush headlong into every kind of misbelief; when rationalist and mystic, one of them cold-hearted and the other feverish and impulsive, but alike presuming on their unassisted faculties and emotions, overleapt all ancient limits of religious thought as well as all the immemorial forms and usages of Christian countries.....The ramification of these varied misbelievers may be traced, in many cases, to the scene of the original collisions between the 'old' and 'new learning.' It was advocated as a leading principle that every Anabaptist was not only able, but was *bound* to execute the office of a teacher, as soon as he perceived within his breast the motions of the Holy Spirit. The effect of this immediate inspiration also made the preacher independent of the Sacred Volume, which he sometimes ventured to denominate 'mere dead-letter,' obsolete in itself, and in the course of its transmission falsified in such a manner as to be unworthy of the faith of full-grown Christians. Thus the last external check imposed on man's presumptuous speculations ran the risk of being summarily demolished; and if Anabaptism had prevailed, it would have reared its throne upon the ruins of all ancient institutions, and have trampled underfoot the Word of God itself.

One of their distinctive errors, though not *the* grand characteristic of their system, was the absolute rejection of infant baptism; and from this peculiarity came the title 'Anabaptists.' Mistaking or preventing what was urged by Luther as to the necessity of active, conscious faith in all partakers of

the sacraments, they soon proceeded to postpone the ministration of the initiatory rite until the subjects of it had complied with all the requisite pre-conditions. Some of the original Anabaptists had insisted on the dogma of an absolute necessity. Others preached the restoration of all things and the ultimate conversion of the devil. Others fancied that the soul will sleep throughout the interval between death and judgment: while the great majority of them cherished the belief that in a kingdom (the millennial) to be speedily established, there would be no longer any need of an external magistracy, nor even of the guidance furnished by the Written Word of God. In close connection with this hope, they now asserted the community of goods. They censured military service of a merely secular kind, and steadily objected to the taking of an oath in their negotiations with the world in general. It was agreed that Anabaptists were at liberty to evade the jurisdiction both of civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, to denounce the latter more especially as a grievous burden, and to aid in the emancipation of all Christians from the discipline as well as doctrine of the Catholic church. They introduced a dualistic (quasi-Manichean) distinction between the 'flesh' and 'spirit'; and instead of holding that man, though fallen, may be rescued by his natural powers, they alleged that the 'flesh' alone participated in the fall, and further that when the material element in him was most of all obnoxious to the indignation of God, the spirit still continued free and uncontaminated by the vilest of the outward actions. They attributed the restoration of harmony between these elements of our nature to the intervention of the Logos, but maintained that His humanity was peculiar, not consisting of flesh and blood which He derived from the substance of the Virgin. Not a few of these same 'Anabaptists' afterwards abandoned every semblance of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and so passed over to the Arian and Socinian schools, then rising up in Switzerland, in Italy, and in Poland.

But the points at which they, (the rationalistic school) had departed from the ground of the Reformers were not limited to infant baptism. They proceeded to assail the Lutheran formula in which salvation was attributed to 'faith only,' and in agitating this, they fell into a further question respecting the two natures of our blessed Lord and His essential Divinity. John Denk, and others, now affirmed that man may earn salvation by his own virtuous actions, and regarded the Founder of Christianity chiefly in His character of Teacher and Exemplar. In Him, as one of the most spotless of our race, the Father was peculiarly manifested to the world, but to assert that

Christ is the Redeemer, in the ordinary meaning of the term, was to convert Him into an idol. He was held to be a Saviour of His people, *because* He was the leader and forerunner of all who would be saved. (ch. v.)¹

Elizabeth now (at her accession) twenty-five years of age, was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as such her fortunes had been long associated with victories and reverses of the great religious movement. For some time, however, she delayed to manifest her predilections. All the mediæval rites were celebrated on the day of her coronation (Jan. 12, 1559), and Cecil who immediately became her principal adviser, had himself occasionally conformed to the established worship in the previous reign. Their efforts were at first directed to the mitigation of religious acrimony. With this object all the pulpits of the kingdom were reduced to silence; party names were interdicted; warnings were addressed to those who on the one side favoured 'superstition,' and to those who on the other were inclined to laxity, or disregarded holy things.....The predilections of the court, as manifested.....were still further shewn by nominating Matthew Parker for the new archbishop of Canterbury. Elected by the chapter of that cathedral (Aug. 1, 1559), and regularly consecrated at Lambeth on the 17th of the following December, he proceeded with a happy mixture of prudence, gentleness, and firmness to re-organize the body over which he had been summoned to preside. He showed himself the great conservative spirit of the English Reformation, sheltering many a treasure from the general wreck of ancient literature entailed by the destruction of the monasteries, and imparting the same thoughts and feelings into his arrangements for securing the stability of religion.....He was Lutheran only in so far as Luther had revived the doctrine of the Early Church, and 'followed the examples of the ancient and worthy Fathers.' (ch. iv.)² By nature and by education, by the ripeness of his learning, the sobriety of his judgment, and the incorruptness of his private life, he had been eminently fitted for the task of ruling in the church of England through a stormy period of her history; and though seldom able to reduce conflicting elements of thought and feeling into active harmony, the vessel he was called to pilot has been saved, almost entirely by his skill, from breaking on the rock of Mediæval superstition, or else drifting far away into the whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelief. Like Cranmer, his great predecessor, whom he valued so highly, that he 'wolde as moche rejoyce to wyne' some of the last writings of that prelate, as he 'wolde to restore an old chancel to reparation,'—he was intimately

1. Hardwick.

2. Hardwick.

acquainted with the records of the ancient church, and uniformly based his vindication of our own upon its cordial adherence to the primitive faith, and to the practice of the purest ages 'His great skill in antiquity' (to quote the language of his biographer, [Strype]), 'reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical; whereby he became acquainted with the ancient Liturgies and doctrines of the Christian church in former times. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public Offices of the present Roman church, because they varied so much from the ancient.'...There is ample reason for believing, that while 'many popishly-affected priests' still kept their hold by their outward compliances, the great majority of English people, in all ranks and orders, cordially accepted the important changes which had flowed from the accession of Elizabeth, and the appointment of archbishop Parker. The labours of a royal commission, which had been deputed in 1559, to visit all the English dioceses, had contributed in no small measure to secure this object, partly by confirming waverers, and partly by imposing silence on 'recusants,' who might either question the supremacy of the Queen, or vilify the English Prayer-Book. Jewel, who himself was one of the most zealous members of this deputation, has narrated their proceedings at some length in writing to Peter Martyr, November 2, 1559. 'Everywhere,' he says, 'we found the minds of the multitude sufficiently alive to religion, and that even where all things were supposed to be most difficult and disheartening. Still it is incredible what a harvest, or, rather, what a wilderness of superstition had shot forth again during the darkness of the Marian period.....The cathedrals were no better than dens of thieves.....If we had to encounter obstinacy and malice in any quarters, it was entirely among the priests, and especially those who had once been of our own way of thinking. I suppose they are now disturbing all things, in order that they may not seem to have changed their minds without sufficient consideration. But let them create as much confusion as they like: we have in the mean time ejected them ('conturbavimus') out of their priestly office.' (ch. vi.)¹

When it was at length proposed to re-consider the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI., on the assembling of the first Elizabethan Convocation (Jan. 1562—3), the charges introduced bear witness to the presence of the same controlling spirit. Instead of drawing hints from the Helvetic Confessions, Parker had recourse to one of Saxon origin, distinguished for its moderation, and actually presented by the state of Wurtemberg to the assembled council of Trent (1552). As finally remodelled at this time, and regularly

sanctioned by the convocation of the southern province, the Articles had undergone important modifications. The statements of the Church were amplified on certain doctrines, more especially those in which her teaching had been misrepresented; other subjects were omitted altogether, owing partly to the disappearance of the forms of misbelief at which they had been levelled, and partly to a manifest anxiety of the compilers to abstain, as far as might be, from scholastic questions: while in reference to the Eucharist, of which the statement may in every case be taken as one of the best criteria for deciding the special character of all confessions issued at this period, the church of England occupied a more distinct and independent place than in the previous list of Articles. The Romish theory of transubstantiation was repudiated quite as strongly as before; the theory alike of Romanist and Lutheran, touching the manducation of our Lord's Body by the wicked, was no less obnoxious to the majority of the synod, [It is a remarkable symptom that this article was, notwithstanding, dropped in the printed copies, and not restored till 1571]; yet in order to establish a position equally removed from Zwingli's, (?) they determined that the Body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given, taken and eaten in the Lord's supper, and at last withdrew a clause which in the former Articles denied the possibility of 'the reall and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude,' upon the ground that His humanity is locally restricted to the place of His glorification. [Dorman in his Disproufe of Mr. Nowell's Reproufe, (1565), insists more than once on the divisions among the English prelates on this subject (fol. 53 a, fol. 103.). In 1571, however, Parker seems to think that no material difference had been perpetuated: Correspondence p. 379. One of them, Cheynie, bp. of Gloucester, openly defended the doctrine of Luther (Zurich Letters, I. 185, 186), as late as 1567. cf. Strype, Annals, I. 563.). (ch. iv.).¹

At a session (of the southern Convocation) held on the 5th of February, the prolocutor and six other members were called up into the presence of bishop Grindal (acting in the room of Parker), and were questioned with regard to the 'Book of Doctrine' lately forwarded from the bishops for subscription in the lower house. The prolocutor on replying to the summons exhibited a copy of the Articles, remarking that they had already passed, and had been signed by several of the members; but as others seem to have betrayed reluctance in following that example, he proceeded to request, that orders might be issued from the prelates to enjoin subscription in all cases. For this reason it was now decreed unanimously,

that the names of persons who continued in the list of non-subscribers at the next meeting should be noted by the prolocutor. Many fresh names accordingly appear to have been added before the day when Convocation reassembled (Feb. 10); and as no further measures were adopted after the 12th of this month, for stimulating the reluctant or coercing the refractory spirits, it is probable that nearly all the members of the lower house gave in their acquiescence in person or by proxy. Though the northern Convocation, as a body, had no direct influence in the compiling of the Articles, its concurrence was to some extent implied in the signatures of the archbishop of York and his two suffragans..... The last touches were applied on the assembling of Convocation in 1571; for then the series was reduced exactly to the form in which it is transmitted to ourselves, and also was imposed as a preliminary test on candidates for holy orders. (Ch. vi.).¹

Being by God's Ordinance, according to our just Title, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of the church, within these our Dominions*, We hold it most agreeable to this our Kingly Office, and our religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the church committed to our Charge, in the Unity of true Religion, and in the Bond of Peace; and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Alterations, or Questions to be raised, which may nourish faction both in the church and Commonwealth. We have therefore, upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of so many of our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this declaration following: That the Articles of the church of England (which have been allowed and authorized heretofore, and which our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the church of England agreeable to God's Word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform Profession thereof and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that end we command to be new printed, and this our declaration to be published therewith..... That for the present, though some differences have been ill raised, yet we take comfort in this, that all Clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established, which is an argument to us, that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles; and that even in those curious points, in which the present difference lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the church of England to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established. That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so

many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the church of Christ, we will, that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. (Prayer-book).

If, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish Persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness; or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self conceited Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing, but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvils, we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and christian endeavour against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations. (Bible).

What was the Catholicity of Anglican religion?

It hath been the wisdom of the church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it. For as on the one side common experience sheweth, that where a change hath been made of things advisedly established (no evident necessity so requiring) sundry inconveniences have thereupon ensued; and these many times more and greater than the evils, that were intended to be remedied by such change. So on the other side, the particular Forms of Divine worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient. Accordingly we find, that in the Reigns of several Princes of blessed memory since the Reforma-

tion, the Church, upon just and weighty considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient: Yet so, as that the main Body and Essentials of it (as well in the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof) have still continued the same unto this day, and yet do stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against it, by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own private fancies and interests, than to that duty they owe to the publick.....We have endeavoured to observe the like moderation, as we find to have been used in the like case in former times. And therefore of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some established Doctrine, or laudable Practice of the church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholick church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain. But such alterations as were tendered to us (by what persons, under what pretences, or to what purpose soever tendered) as seemed to us in any degree requisite or expedient, we have willingly, and of our own accord assented unto: not enforced so to do by any strength of argument, convincing us of the necessity of making the said alterations. For we are fully persuaded in our judgements (and we here profess it to the world) that the Book, as it stood before established by Law, doth not contain in it anything contrary to the Word of God, or to sound Doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good Conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same; if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human Writings, especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best translations of the holy Scripture itself.

There was never anything by the wit of men so well devised, or so sure established, which in continuance of time hath not been corrupted: As, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called *Divine Service*.....Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity (if any arise) and for the resolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to undertake, do, and execute the things contained in this Book; the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall always resort to the Bishop of the

Diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same ; so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this Book. And if the Bishop of the Diocese be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop.

Of such Ceremonies as be used in the church, and have had their beginning by the institution of man, some at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet at length turned to vanity and superstition : some entered into the church by indiscreet devotion, and such a zeal as was without knowledge ; and for because they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses.....Although the keeping or omitting of a Ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing ; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. Let all things be done among you, saith Saint Paul, in a seemly and due order.....And whereas in this our time, the minds of men are so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their Ceremonies, they be so addicted to their old customs, and again on the other side, some be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can like them, but that is new : it was thought expedient, not so much to have respect how to please and satisfy either of these parties, as how to please God, and profit them both.....We think it convenient that every Country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition ; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversly in divers countries.

First Prayer-Book of EDWARD VI. 1549.

The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar, shall say the Lord's prayer, with this Collect.

Then shall he say a Psalm appointed for the introit : which Psalm ended, the Priest shall say, or else the Clerks shall sing.

Then the Priest standing at God's board shall begin, Glory &c. to God on high. The Clerks...And &c.

Then the priest shall turn him to the people and say.

Then shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these two Collects following, for the King.

The Collects ended, the priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying.

The Epistle of Saint Paul written in the Chapter of . The Minister then shall read the epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say. The holy Gospel written in the Chapter of . The Clerks and people shall answer, Glory be to thee, O Lord. The priest or deacon then shall read the Gospel : after the Gospel ended, the priest shall begin. I believe in one God. The clerks shall sing the rest.

After the Creed ended, shall follow the Sermon or Homily, or some portion of one of the Homilies, as they shall be hereafter divided : wherein if the people be not exhorted, to the worthy receiving of the holy Sacrament, of the body and blood of our saviour Christ : then shall the Curate give this exhortation to those that be minded to receive the same.

In Cathedral churches or other places, where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation above written, once in a month. And in parish churches, upon the week days it may be left unsaid.

And if upon the Sunday or holy day, the people be negligent to come to the Communion : Then shall the Priest earnestly exhort his parishioners, to dispose themselves to the receiving of the holy communion more diligently, saying these or like words unto them.

Then shall follow for the Offertory, one or more, of these sentences of holy scripture, to be sung whilst the people do offer, or else one of them to be said by the minister, immediately afore the offering.

Where there be Clerks, they shall sing one, or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time, that the people be offering.

In the mean time, whilst the Clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer unto the poor man's box every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And at the offering days appointed : every man and woman shall pay to the Curate, the due and accustomed offerings.

Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy Communion, shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place, nigh the quire, the men on the one side; and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and Clerks.

Then shall the minister take so much Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in

some other comely thing, prepared for that purpose. And putting the wine into the Chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the Chalice will not serve) putting thereto a little pure and clean water: And setting both the bread and wine upon the Altar: Then the Priest shall say The Lord be with you.

Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time (if there be any specially appointed) or else immediately shall follow. Therefore with Angels, &c.

After which preface shall follow immediately.

This the Clerks shall also sing.

When the Clerks have done singing, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turn him to the people and say: Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church. Then the Priest turning him to the Altar, shall say or sing, plainly and distinctly, this prayer following. Almighty and everlasting God, &c.

Here the Priest must take the bread into his hands.

Here the Priest must take the cup into his hands.

These words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still to the Altar, without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.

Let us pray. As our saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say, &c.

Then shall the priest say, The peace of the Lord be always with you.

Here the priest shall turn him toward those that come to the holy Communion, and shall say.

Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Then shall the Priest stand up, and turning himself to the people, say thus.

Then shall the Priest also say.

Then shall the Priest turning him to God's board kneel down, and say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following.

Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present, (that they may be ready to help the chief minister,) and after to the people.

And when he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words: The body of our Lord, &c.

And the Minister delivering the sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once, and no more, shall say, The blood of our Lord, &c.

If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the chalice; and as the Priest ministereth the sacrament of the body, so shall he (for more expedition) minister the sacrament of the blood, in form before written.

In the communion time the Clerks shall sing,

Beginning so soon as the Priest doth receive the holy communion, and when the communion is ended, then shall the Clerks sing the post communion.

Then the Priest shall give thanks to God, in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying,

Then the Priest, turning him to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing :

Then the people shall answer, Amen.

Second Prayer-book of EDWARD VI., 1552.

The Table having at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the chancel, where Morning prayer, and Evening prayer be appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the north side of the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following.

Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments, and the people kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God's mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort.

Then shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these two Collects following, for the king: the Priest standing up and saying.

Immediately after the Collects, the priest shall read the Epistle, beginning thus: The Epistle written in the Chapter of
And the Epistle ended, he shall say the Gospel, beginning thus: The Gospel written in the Chapter of And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said the Creed. After the Creed, if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority. After such sermon, homily, or exhortation, the Curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into

the poor men's box, and upon the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings: after which done, the priest shall say.

If there be none alms given unto the poor, then shall the words of accepting our alms be left out unsaid.

Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion.

And some time shall be said this also, at the discretion of the Curate.

Then shall the priest say this exhortation.

Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy Communion.

Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Then shall the Priest or the Bishop (being present) standing up, and turning himself to the people, say thus.

Then shall the priest also say

After the which, the priest shall proceed, saying,

Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed: or else immediately shall follow. Therefore with Angels, &c.

After which preface, shall follow immediately.

Then shall the priest kneeling down at God's board, say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following.

Then the priest standing up shall say, as followeth.

Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present (that they may help the chief minister) and after to the people in their hands kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say, Take and eat this, in remembrance, &c. And the minister that delivereth the cup, shall say, Drink this in remembrance, &c.

Then shall the priest say the Lord's prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

After shall be said as followeth. Or this.

Then shall be said or sung.

Then the Priest or the Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

Prayer-book of ELIZABETH, 1559.

The table, having at the Communion time a fair white linen

cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said. And the priest standing at the north side of the table shall say the Lord's prayer with this collect following.

Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten commandments, and the people kneeling shall after every Commandment, ask God's mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort.

Then shall follow the Collect of the day, with one of these two Collects following, for the Queen, the Priest standing up and saying :

Immediately after the Collects, the Priest shall read the Epistle, beginning thus. The Epistle written in the Chapter of And the Epistle ended, he shall say the gospel, beginning thus. The Gospel written in the Chapter of And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said the Creed.

After the Creed if there be no sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common authority. After such Sermon, homily, or exhortation, the Curate shall declare unto the people, whether there be any holy days, or fasting days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box, and upon the offering days appointed; every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings, after which done the Priest shall say.

If there be no alms given unto the poor, then shall the words of accepting our alms be left unsaid.

Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the holy communion.

And some time shall be said this also, at the discretion of the Curate.

Then shall the Priest say this exhortation.

Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy communion.

Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those, that are minded to receive this holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their kness.

Then shall the priest, or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people shall say thus.

Then shall the Priest also say.

After the which the priest shall proceed saying.

Here shall follow the proper prefaces, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed, or else immediately shall follow, Therefore with the Angels, &c.

After which preface shall follow immediately.

Then shall the priest, kneeling down at God's board, say in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following.

Then the priest standing up, shall say as followeth.

Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Ministers (if any be there present, they may help the chief minister), and after to the people in their hands kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread he shall say. The body of our Lord, &c. and take and eat this, &c. And the minister that delivereth the cup shall say. The blood of our Lord, &c. And drink this, &c.

Then shall the priest say the Lord's prayer, the people repeating after him every petition. After shall be said as followeth. Or this.

Then shall be said or sung.

Then the Priest, or the Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

Communion Office, 1637.

The Holy table having at the Communion time a carpet, and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this collect following for due preparation.

Prayer-book of Charles II, 1662.

The Table, at the Communion-time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning, and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said. And the priest standing *at the north side of the table* shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following, the people kneeling.

[Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments; and the people still kneeling shall, after every Commandment, ask God's mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.]

Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the Queen, the Priest standing *as before*, and saying.

[Then shall be said the Collect of the Day. And immediately after the Collect the Priest shall read the Epistle, saying, &c. And the Epistle ended, he shall say, &c.

Then shall he read the Gospel (the people all standing up), saying, &c. And the Gospel ended, shall be sung or said the Creed following, the people still standing as before.

Then the Curate shall declare unto the people, &c.].

Then shall follow the Sermon, &c.

Then shall the Priest *return* to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying, &c.

[Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit persons for that purpose, shall receive, &c. and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table.].

And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the Priest shall say, &c. When the Minister giveth warning, &c. Or in case, &c.

[At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament, the Priest shall say this Exhortation.

Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion.].

Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by one of the Ministers; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying.

Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present), stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.

[Then shall the Priest say,

After which the Priest shall proceed, saying],

Then shall the Priest turn to the Lord's Table and say,

Then shall the Priest kneeling down at the Lord's Table, say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.

When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup in his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.

[Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present), and after that to the people also in order into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the Bread to any one

he shall say, The Body, &c., Take and eat this, &c. And the Minister that delivereth the Cup to any one shall say, The Blood, &c. Drink this &c.

When all have communicated, the Minister shall *return* to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.

Then shall the Priest say *the Lord's Prayer*, the people repeating after him every Petition.

Form of Dedication, &c., 1703.

Then the people come forward in decent manner and take their seats, and the Chaplains address themselves to the solemn Liturgy. One of the Chaplains bowing before the Holy Table, or Altar, and then kneeling at the Faldstool beginneth. After the Confession he comes and sits by his Fellow. And the other Chaplain standing in the place appointed for reading of Prayers, saith,

After this Prayer, the other Chaplain going forth again, and bowing before the Holy Table or Altar, begins the Litany. Then they go to the Administration of the Lord's Supper: One of the Chaplains kneeling on the South, the other on the North-side of the Holy Table or Altar, and saying.

Form of Dedication, &c. 1712.

The bishop and his chaplains go within the rails (of the chancel): the bishop to the north side of the Holy Table, and the chaplains to the south side.

The bishop, standing on the north side of the Altar, as before, reads the Communion Service.

* * * * *

Act of Uniformity of ELIZABETH, 1559.

The said Statute of Repeal (*anno* 1. *Mary* of the Act of Uniformity authorising Edward VIth's Second Prayer-book) and everything therein contained, only concerning the said Book, and the Service, Administration of Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies, contained or appointed in or by the said Book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist next coming: and...the said Book, with the Order of Service, and of the Administration of Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies, with the Alterations, and Additions therein added and appointed by this Statute, shall stand, and be from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of the Statute: Any thing in the foresaid Statute of Repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.....

..... Provided always, and be it Enacted, That such Ornaments of the Church and of the

Ministers thereof, shall be retained, and be used, as was in this Church of England, by Authority of Parliament, in the second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm.

Prayer-book of Elizabeth, 1539.—

And here it is to be noted, that the minister at the time of Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of Edward the sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of this Book.

Advertisements of Elizabeth, 1564 :—

In the administration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches the principal minister shall use a cope with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably ; and at all other prayer to be sayde at that Communion-table to use no copes, but surplices.

Prayer book of JAMES I., 1604 :—

And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such Ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of Edward the sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of this Book.

Canons of JAMES I., 1604 :—

In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast days, sometimes by the bishop (if he be present), and sometimes by the dean, and sometimes by a canon or prebendary, the principal minister using a decent cope, and being assisted with the gospeller and epistoler agreeably, according to the advertisements published *anno 7 Eliz.*

Act of Uniformity of CHARLES II., 1662 :—

The several good Laws, and Statutes of this Realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the Uniformity of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, within this Realm of England, and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming of the said Book, intituled, The Book of Common Prayer &c.

Prayer-book of CHARLES II., 1662 :—

And here it is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church,

and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.

By what undue means, and for what mischievous purposes the use of the Liturgy (though enjoined by the Laws of the Land, and those Laws never yet repealed) came, during the late unhappy confusions, to be discontinued, is too well known to the world, and we are not willing here to remember, but when, upon His Majesty's happy Restoration, it seemed probable that amongst other things, the use of the Liturgy would also return of course, (the same having never been legally abolished) unless some timely means were used to prevent it; those men who under the late usurped powers had made it a great part of their business to render the people disaffected thereunto, saw themselves in point of reputation and interest concerned (unless they would freely acknowledge themselves to have erred, which such men are very hardly brought to do) with their utmost endeavours to hinder the restitution thereof.....Our general aim therefore in this undertaking (the Revision) was, not to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands; but to do that, which to our best understandings we conceived might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and exciting of Piety and devotion in the public Worship of God; and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church. And as to the several variations from the former book, whether by alteration, addition, or otherwise, it shall suffice to give this general account, that most of the alterations were made, either first, for the better direction of them that are to officiate any part of divine service, which is chiefly done in the Calendars and Rubricks.....If any man, who shall desire a more particular account of the several alterations in any part of the Liturgy, shall take the pains to compare the present Book with the former; we doubt not but the reason of the change may easily appear.

What was the Catholicity of the Anglican constitution?

When.....king Alfred succeeded to the monarchy of Englandhis mighty genius prompted him to undertake a most great and necessary work, which he is said to have executed in as masterly a manner no less than to new model the constitution..... Thus he effected, by reducing the whole kingdom under a regular and gradual subordination of government, wherein each man was answerable to his immediate superior for his own conduct and

that of his nearest neighbours:.....all under the influence and administration of one supreme magistrate, the king; in whom, as in a general reservoir, all the executive authority of the law was lodged, and from whom justice was dispersed to every part of the nation by distinct yet communicating ducts and channels..... Among the most remarkable of the Saxon laws we may reckon.....

8. The courts of justice consisted principally of the county-courts.....These county-courts, however, differed from the modern ones, in that the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction were blended together, the bishop and the ealdorman or sheriff sitting in the same county-court. In cases of weight or nicety (there was) the king's court held before himself in person, who.....was wont to assemble his nobility and prelates in his court, who there heard and decided all controversies, and then, having received his instructions, departed home.....

The Norman invasion—this remarkable event wrought as great an alteration in our laws, as it did in our ancient line of kings.....

1. Among the first of these alterations we may reckon the separation of the ecclesiastical courts from the civil: effected in order to ingratiate the new king with the popish clergy, who for some time before had been endeavouring all over Europe to exempt themselves from the secular power; and whose demands the conqueror, like a politic prince, thought it prudent to comply with, by reason that their reputed sanctity had a great influence over the minds of the people; and because all the little learning of the times was engrossed into their hands, which made them necessary men, and by all means to be gained over to his interests.....Henry the first gave up to the clergy the free election of bishops and mitred abbotts; reserving however, these ensigns of patronage, conge deslire, custody of the temporalities when vacant, and homage upon their restitution. He lastly united again for a time the civil and ecclesiastical courts, which union was soon dissolved by his Norman clergy, and upon that final dissolution, the cognizance of testamentary causes seems to have been first given to the ecclesiastical court. The rest remained as in his father's time: from whence we easily perceive how far short this was of a thorough restitution of king Edward's, or the Saxon laws.....The reformation of religion under Henry the eighth, and his children opens an entirely new scene in ecclesiastical matters; the usurped power of the pope being now for ever routed and destroyed, all his connexions with this island cut off, the crown restored to its supremacy over spiritual men and causes, and the patronage of bishoprics, being once more indisputably vested in

the king. And had the spiritual courts been at this time reunited to the civil, we should have seen the old Saxon constitution with regard to *ecclesiastical* polity completely restored. (bk. iv. ch. 33.).¹

Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme Head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocation, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same; be it enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof all the honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity belonging and appertaining; and that our said Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed—most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm—any usages, custom, foreign lawes, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. (Act of Supremacy.).

The King's Grace hath no new authority given hereby that he is recognised as supreme Head of the Church of England; for in that recognition is included only that he have such power as to a king of right appertaineth by the law of God; and not that he should take any spiritual power from spiritual ministers that is given to them by the Gospel. So that these words, that the king is supreme Head of the Church, serve rather to declare and make open to the world, that the king hath power to suppress all such extorted powers, as well of the Bishop of Rome as of any other within this realm, whereby his subjects might be grieved; and to correct and remove all things whereby any unquietness might arise amongst the people; rather than to prove that he should pretend thereby to take any powers from the suc-

cessors of the apostles that was given to them by God. And forasmuch as, in the session of this former parliament holden in the twenty-fifth year of this reign, whereby great exactions done to the king's subjects by a power from Rome was put away, and thereupon the promise was made that nothing should be interpreted and expounded upon that statute, that the King's Grace, his nobles or subjects, intended to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's church in any thing concerning the articles of the catholic faith, or any declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary for his Grace's salvation and his subjects; it is not therefore meet lightly to think that the self-same persons, continuing the self-same parliament, would in the next year following make an act whereby the king, his nobles and subjects should so vary. And no man may with conscience judge that they did so, except they can prove that the words of the statute, whereby the king is recognised to be the supreme Head of the Church of England, should show expressly that they intended to do so; as it is apparent that they do not. (Declaration.).

Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that—this Realm of England is an empire (and so hath been accepted in the world), governed by one Supreme Head and King, (having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same): unto whom, a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, (divided in terms and by names of Spirituaty and Temporalty) be bounden and owen to bear [next to God] a natural and humble obedience; he being also institute and furnished (by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God) with plenary, (whole, and entire) power, (pre-eminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction,) to render and yield justice and Final determination to all manners of folk, (resiauntes, or subjects) within this his Realm, in all Causes, (matters, debates, and contentions) happening to occur (insurge or begin) within the limits thereof, [without restraint, or provocation, to any foreign princes or potentates of the world]:—the body Spiritual where of having power when any Cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, (interpreted and shewn) by that part of the said body politick, called the Spirituaty, [now being usually called the English Church], which always hath been reputed (and also found) of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, (and is also at this hour), sufficient and meet of itself [without the intermeddling of any exterior per-

son or persons], to declare and determine all such doubts, and to Administer all such offices and duties, as to their rounes Spiritual do appertain; [for the due Administration whereof, (and to keep them from corruption and sinister affection), the King's most noble progenitors, and the antecessors of the Nobles of this Realm, have sufficient endowed the said Church, both with honor and possessions]:—and the laws Temporal, for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this Realm in unity and peace, without ravin or spoil, was (and yet is) Administered, (Adjudged, and Executed) by sundry judges and ministers of the other part of the said body politick, called the Temporality. And both their Authorities and Jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due Administration of Justice, the one to help the other. (Act for restraint of Appeals.).

The Queen's most excellent Majesty, the Lord's Temporal, and all the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their Dioceses and Charges, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his people for neglecting this good and wholesome law. And for their Authority in this behalf be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and singular the said Archbishops, Bishops, and other their officers exercising ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as well in place exempt as not exempt, within their Dioceses, shall have full Power and Authority by this Act, to reform, correct, and punish by Censures of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend within any of their Jurisdictions, or Dioceses, after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next coming, against this Act and Statute.....And it is Ordained and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Justice of Oyer and Determiner, or Justice of Assize, shall have full Power and Authority in every of their open and general Sessions, to enquire, hear and determine all and all manner of Offences, that shall be committed or done contrary to any Article contained in this present Act, within the limits of the Commission to them directed; and to make Process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any Person being indicted before them of Trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof. Provided always, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Archbishop, and Bishop, shall or may at all time and times, at his liberty and

pleasure, join and associate himself by virtue of this Act, to the said Justices of Oyer and Determiner, or to the said Justices of Assize, at every of the said open and general Sessions to be holden in any place within his Diocese, for and to the enquiry, hearing, and determining of the Offences aforesaid. (Act of Uniformity.).

Whereas our bishops.....and the other clergy of every diocese within the province of Canterbury, being summoned and called by virtue of our writ,.....did thereupon.....assemble themselves, and appear in Convocation.....We.....of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, did, by virtue of our prerogative royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, give.....full,.....liberty,.....that they,.....might confer,.....upon such canons, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as they should think necessary, fit, and convenient, for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof, to be from time to time observed.....as well by the Archbishops of Canterbury.....and the rest of the whole clergy.....in their several callings.....; as also by all and every Dean of the Arches, and other judges of the said Archbishop's Courts.....and all and every other ecclesiastical officers.....in their and every of their distinct courts, and in the order and manner of their and every of their proceedings; and by all other persons within this realm, as far as lawfully, being Members of the Church, it may concern them.....Forasmuch as the Bishop of London.....with the rest of the clergy,.....treated of, concluded, and agreed upon certain canons.....to the end and purpose by us limited and prescribed unto them; and have thereupon offered and presented the same unto us, most humbly desiring us to give our royal assent unto their said canons.....andto ratify.....and to confirm the same,.....the title and tenor of them being word for word as ensueth: Of the Church of England. I. The King's Supremacy over the Church of England in Causes Ecclesiastical to be maintained. As our duty to the King's most excellent Majesty requireth, we first decree and ordain, that the Archbishop of Canterbury (from time to time), all bishops of this province, all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and (as much as in them lieth) shall cause to be observed and kept of others, all and singular laws and statutes, made for restoring to the Crown of this kingdom, the ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical, and abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same. Furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, and all other preachers, and

readers of divinity lectures, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely, without any colour or dissimulation, teach, manifest, open, and declare, four times every year at least, in their sermons and other collations and lectures, that all usurped and foreign power (forasmuch as the same hath no establishment nor ground by the law of God), is for most just causes taken away and abolished: and that therefore no manner of obedience, or subjection, within his Majesty's realms and dominions, is due unto any such foreign power, but that the King's power, within his realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all other his dominions and countries, is the highest power under God, to whom all men, as well inhabitants as born within the same, do by God's laws owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in the earth. 2. Impugners of the King's Supremacy censured. Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the King's Majesty, hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had amongst the Jews and Christian emperors of the Primitive Church; or impeach any part of his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of those his wicked errors.....Authority of Synods. 139. A National Synod the Church Representative. Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the King's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated.....140. Synods conclude as well the Absent as the Present. Whosoever shall affirm, that no manner of person, either of the clergy or laity, not being themselves particularly assembled in the said sacred synod, are to be subject to the decrees thereof in causes ecclesiastical (made and ratified by the King's Majesty's supreme authority), as not having given their voices unto them, let him be excommunicated.....141. Depravers of the Synod censured. Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod, assembled as aforesaid, was a company of such persons as did conspire together against godly and religious professors of the Gospel; and that therefore both they and their proceedings in making of canons and constitutions in causes ecclesiastical by the King's authority, as aforesaid, ought to be despised and contemned, the same being ratified, confirmed, and enjoined by the said regal power, supremacy, and authority; let them be excommunicated.....We of our princely in-

clination and royal care for the maintenance of the present estate and government of the Church of England.....finding the same such as we are persuaded will be very profitable, not only to our clergy, but to the whole church of this our kingdom, and to all the true members of it, if they be well observed; have thereforegiven, and by these presents do give, our royal assent.....to all and every of the said canons..... And, furthermore, we do not only...ratify, confirm, and establishthe said canons.....but do likewise propound, publish, and straightway enjoin and commend by our said authority.....the same to be diligently observed.....by all our loving subjects of this our kingdom...and that likewise, for the better observation of them, every minister.....shall.....read all the said canons..... once every year, upon some Sundays or holy days, in the afternoon, before Divine Service, dividing the same in such sort, as that the one half may be read one day, and the other another day..... straitly charging and commanding all archbishops, bishops, and all other that exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this realm.....to see and procureall and every of the same canonsto be in all points duly observed. (Ratification.).

Though this nation has constantly adhered to the principle of an established church, that is, a church endowed, and (as occasion has required) protected by the provision of the temporal law; yet no claim was formerly made by the temporal laws to interfere with the regulation of its faith, ceremonies, or discipline. These, being matters merè spiritualia, fell under the exclusive province of the ecclesiastical authorities; who, in their exercise of it, were guided by the law of the popes and councils, modified from time to time by our own legatine and provincial constitutions. But at the era of the Reformation it was found necessary to resort to the legislature for an authoritative exposition of the true Protestant faith, the establishment of appropriate forms of worship, and the declaration of the crown's supremacy, in lieu of that of the pope, in matters ecclesiastical; and from this time the power of the ordinary ecclesiastical authorities of the realm has been exercised in subordination to those permanent institutions of the civil government.

And first, the *Articles of Faith*, consisting originally of forty-two, but afterwards reduced to thirty-nine (and commonly called the thirty-nine Articles), were framed by Archbishop Cranmer with the assistance of other persons of distinguished learning and piety, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; and were reduced to their present form in the convocation of the archbishops and

bishops of both provinces, held at London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 1562. And by statute 13 Eliz. c. 12, it was provided that if any person ecclesiastical, or having ecclesiastical living, shall advisedly maintain any doctrine directly repugnant to any of the said articles, and on being convened before the bishop, still persist therein, he shall be liable to be deprived.

The Form of Prayer and Church Service, commonly called the *Liturgy*, was also first framed in the reign of Edward the Sixth, under the superintendance of Cranmer and his coadjutors. Before the Reformation various liturgies had been in use in different parts of the realm. But a new ritual (chiefly founded, however, on the antient services), with *rubrics* prescribing the order and form to be pursued, was now compiled for the uniform observance of the whole reformed church of England. This book of King Edward the sixth was, for the most part, the same with our present Book of Common Prayer. It was established by statute 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1; and being afterwards revised, was confirmed by 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1, and 1 Eliz. c. 2; and after two other successive revisions in the reigns of King James the First, and Charles the Second, was again confirmed by 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4; all which statutes are entitled acts of Uniformity, or more particularly, acts for the Uniformity of Service in the Church and Administration of the Sacraments. In the reign of King James the First a new Version also of the Holy Scriptures was made and established by law; being the same which is still in use under the denomination of King James's Bible.

As to the *crown's supremacy*, it was definitely established by 1 Eliz. c. 1 (m); a statute which provides that no foreign prince or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall exercise any manner of jurisdiction or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or the dominions thereof; and next that such jurisdiction and privileges, as had before been exercised by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power, for visitation and correction of the church, shall for ever, by authority of the present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

The new regulations thus introduced by the legislature, taken in connection with other legislative enactments of the same era, but of subordinate importance, and in connection also with the national canon law, (which still gives the rule where these are silent), have constituted from the period of which we speak, and still constitute, the standard of faith, worship, and discipline in the Church of England. (bk. IV. pt. II. ch. 2.)¹

What was the un-Catholicity of Anglicanism ?

Be it Enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all and singular ministers in any Cathedral, or Parish-Church, or other place within this Realm of England, Wales, and the Marches of the same or other the Queen's Dominions, shall from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the Mattins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open Prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said Book, so Authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth Years of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth : with one alteration, or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the Year, and the Form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two Sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the Communicants, and none other, or otherwise. And that if any manner of Parson, Vicar, or other whatsoever Minister that ought or should sing or say Common Prayer mentioned in the said Book, or minister the Sacraments, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, refuse to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Cathedral or Parish-Church, or other places, as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form, as they be mentioned, and set forth in the said Book ; or shall wilfully, or obstinately standing in the same, use any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or Manner of Celebrating of the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or Mattins, Evensong, Administration of the Sacraments, or other open Prayers, than is mentioned and set forth in the said Book, or shall preach, declare or speak anything in the derogation, or depraving of the said Book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof ; and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this Realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Successors, for his first Offence, the profit of all his Spiritual Benefices, or Promotions, coming or arising in one whole Year next after his Conviction : And also that the Person so convicted, shall for the same Offence suffer Imprisonment by the space of six months, without Bail or Mainprise. And if any such Person, once convict of any Offence concerning the Premises, shall after his first conviction eftsoons offend, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict ; That then the same Person shall for

his second Offence suffer Imprisonment by the space of one whole Year, and also shall therefore be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his Spiritual Promotions, and, that it shall be lawful to all Patrons, or Donors of all and singular the same Spiritual Promotions, or of any of them to present or collate to the same, as though the Person or Persons so offending were dead. And that if any such Person or Persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the Premises the third time, and shall be therefore in form aforesaid lawfully convicted; That then the Person so offending, and convicted the third time, shall be deprived *ipso facto* of all his Spiritual Promotions, and also shall suffer imprisonment during his life. And if the Person that shall offend, and be convicted in form aforesaid, concerning any of the Premises, shall not be beneficed nor have any Spiritual Promotion, that then the same Person so offending and convict, shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment during one whole Year next after his said Conviction, without Bail or Mainprise. And if any such Person, not having any Spiritual Promotion, after his first Conviction shall eftsoons offend in any thing concerning the Premises, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same Person shall for his second Offence suffer imprisonment during his life. (1 Eliz. ch. 2.).

To the intent that all usurped and foreign Power and Authority Spiritual and Temporal may for ever be clearly extinguished and never to be used nor obeyed within this Realm or any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries: May it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, Spiritual or Temporal, shall at any time after the last Day of this Session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Authority, Preeminence, or Privilege, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, within this Realm or within any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this Realm and all other your Highness' Dominions for ever...

And for the more sure observation of this Act and the utter extinguishment of all foreign and usurped Power and Authority, may it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons dwelling or inhabiting within this your Realm, or in any other your Highness' Realms or Dominions, of what Estate, Dignity, or Degree soever he or they be, after the end of thirty days next after the determination of this Session of this present Parliament, shall by writing,

printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deed, or act, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend, The authority, Pre-eminence, Power, or Jurisdiction, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical of any foreign Prince, Prelate, Person, State, or Potentate whatsoever heretofore claimed, used, or usurped, within this Realm or any Dominion or Country, being within or under the Power, Dominion, or Obedience of your Highness, or shall advisedly, maliciously, and directly put in ure, or execute any thing for the extolling, advancement, setting forth, maintenance, or defence, of any such pretended or usurped Jurisdiction, Power, Pre-eminence, or Authority, or any part thereof, that then every such person and persons so doing and offending their Abettors, Aiders, Procurers, and Counsellors, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted according to the due Order and Course of the Common Laws of this Realm, for his or their first Offence shall forfeit and lose unto your Highness, your Heirs, and Successors, all his and their Goods and Chattels as well real as personal. (1 Eliz. ch. 1.).

The two statutes, commonly denominated the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (of 1 Eliz.), form the basis of that restrictive code of laws, deemed by some one of the fundamental bulwarks, by others the reproach of our constitution, which pressed so heavily for more than two centuries upon the adherents to the Romish church. By the former all beneficed ecclesiastics, and all laymen holding office under the crown, were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, *renouncing* the spiritual as well as temporal jurisdiction of every foreign prince or prelate, on pain of forfeiting their office or benefice; and it was rendered highly penal, and for the third offence treasonable, to maintain such supremacy by writing or advised speaking. The latter statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience; prohibiting, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment during life for the third, the use by a minister, *whether beneficed or not*, of any but the established liturgy; and imposed a fine of one shilling on all who should absent themselves from Church on Sundays and Holy days. This act operated as an absolute interdiction of the catholic rites, however privately celebrated.....The two statutes, enacted in the first year of Elizabeth, commonly called the acts of supremacy and uniformity, are the main links of the Anglican church with the temporal constitution, and establish the subordination and dependency of the former; the first abrogating all jurisdiction and legislative power of ecclesiastical rulers, except under the authority

of the crown ; and the second prohibiting all changes of rites and discipline without the approbation of parliament. It was the constant policy of this queen to maintain her ecclesiastical prerogative and the laws she had enacted. But in following up this principle she found herself involved in many troubles, and had to contend with a religious party, (the Puritan), quite opposite to the Romish, less dangerous indeed and inimical to her government, but full as vexatious and determined.....There were but two lines to be taken ; either to relax and modify the regulations which gave offence, or to enforce a more punctual observation of them. It seems to me far more probable that the former course would have prevented a great deal of that mischief which the second manifestly aggravated. For in this early stage the advocates of a simpler ritual had by no means assumed the shape of an embodied faction, which concessions, it must be owned, are not apt to satisfy, but numbered the most learned and distinguished portion of the hierarchy.....Yet, that we may not deprive this great queen's administration in what concerned her dealings with the two religious parties opposed to the established church, of what vindication may best be offered for it, I will refer the reader to a letter of Sir Francis Walsingham, written to a person in France, after the year 1580. It is a very able apology for her government ; and if the reader should detect, as he doubtless may, somewhat of sophistry in reasoning, and of mis-statement in matter of fact he will ascribe both one and the other to the narrow spirit of the age with respect to civil and religious freedom, or to the circumstances of the writer, an advocate whose sovereign was his client.....They (his principles) take for granted the fundamental sophism of religious intolerance, namely, that the civil magistrate, or the church he supports, is not only in the right, but so clearly in the right, that no honest man, if he takes time and pains to consider the subject, can help acknowledging it, secondly, (it may be observed) that, according to the principles of Christianity as admitted on each side, it does not rest in an esoteric persuasion, but requires an exterior profession, evinced both by social worship and by certain positive rights ; and that the marks of this profession, according to the form best adapted to their respective ways of thinking, were as incumbent upon the catholic and puritan as they had been upon the primitive church ; nor were they more chargeable with faction, or with exceeding the bounds of conscience, when they persisted in the use of them, notwithstanding any prohibitory statute, than the early Christians. (vol. 1. chaps. 3, 4.)¹

What was the first act of Dis-establishment and Dis-endowment?

Independents are generally considered to have sprung from the followers of Robert Brown, [A. D. 1550—1630], a clergyman, and a relative of Lord Burleigh. He was a man of extremely impetuous disposition, and his principles were of a very revolutionary character. The Brownists were a large sect in the days of Elizabeth and her successors, and went by their founder's name until the time of the civil war, when they changed their name to Independents, as in the present day they are changing the name of Independents for that of Congregationalists.....The leading tenets of the early Independents were, that the Church of England was Popish and Antichristian: and that there was no necessity for a distinct order of ministers. In our own time they are a very large body of Dissenters, something like three-quarters of a million of our population professing to belong to the sect..... The two names by which this sect of Dissenters is known are taken from the principle which they profess, that each congregation should be quite independent of every other, and of every one else too, in the management of its affairs. (ch. x.).¹

What was the second act of Dis-establishment and Dis-endowment?

Presbyterians arose next (to Calvinistic Baptists), whose most efficient leader, if he was not the inventor of Presbyterianism, was John Knox, a Scottish priest [A. D. 1505—1572.].....In the time of the Great Rebellion, Presbyterianism was the established religion of the country, as it is in the present day in Scotland..... Although the special doctrine that Episcopal Ordination is unnecessary and wrong is common to all sects of Dissenters, because their very existence depends on a repudiation of its necessity, the English Presbyterians of modern days are a very small religious community, having been almost superseded in their meeting-houses by the Socinians or Unitarians, who deny our Lord's Divine Nature. (ch. x.)²

What was the third act of Dis-establishment and Dis-endowment?

Roman Catholics are a sect which struck off from the Church of England at the time of the Reformation. Until Pius V. excommunicated Queen Elizabeth [A. D. 1570.], they continued to frequent their parish churches, but were then forbidden to do so any longer, and a separate community was founded. Their principles and mode of worship are for the most part identical with those of the Church before it underwent reformation by the excision of

1. Blunt.

2. Blunt.

mediæval abuses and superstitions, and the translation of the Bible and Prayer-book. (ch. x.)¹

What were the first acts of Re-establishment and Re-endowment?

The Revolution of 1688.....was the commencement of an era of more liberal legislation in matters of religion, as well as politics; and by the Toleration Act, 1 W & M. st. 1., ch. 18. (confirmed by 10 Ann. ch. 2.), all persons dissenting from the Church of England (except Papists and persons denying the Trinity) were relieved from such of the acts against non-conformity, as prevented their assembling for religious worship according to their own forms, or otherwise restrained their religious liberty, on condition of their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation, and (in the case of dissenting *ministers*) subscribing also to certain of the Thirty-nine Articles. It was also made penal to disturb any congregation lawfully assembled, or to misuse their preacher; an offence which has been since prohibited under still heavier penalties. But it was on the other hand provided, that no congregation should be allowed under that act, unless the place of their meeting was certified to and registered with the bishop, or archdeacon, or court of quarter sessions. And it was also required, that the doors of the meeting-house should not be locked, barred, nor bolted.....It was provided in favour of dissenting ministers, by 19 Geo. III. c. 44, that any dissenting preachers or teachers may be entitled to all the benefit of the Toleration Act, by taking the oaths and subscribing the declaration against property therein mentioned, and also making or subscribing a declaration professing themselves to be Christians and Protestants, and that they believe the Scriptures to contain the revealed will of God, and to be the rule of doctrine and preaching. The same act relieves every dissenting minister, or other Protestant dissenter, conforming to these conditions, from the provisions of 13 & 14 Car II. c. 4, by which they were prohibited from keeping schools or instructing youth; but there is a proviso, that nothing therein contained shall extend to the enabling any dissenter to hold the mastership of a college or other endowed school, unless endowed since the first year of William and Mary, for the immediate benefit of Protestant dissenters. Then followed the 52 Geo. III. c. 155, by which both ministers and hearers were relieved from the necessity of taking any oaths or subscribing any declaration, unless required so to do by some justice of the peace; and by which it is enacted that all persons officiating in or resorting to religious establishments duly certified by 1 W. & M. st. 1. c. 18, shall be as

fully relieved from all penalties relating to religious worship, as if they had made the declaration and taken the oaths required by any previous act. In order however, to prevent irregular conventicles of any persons in places not duly certified, whether they in fact dissent from the Church of England or not, this act prohibits (after repealing 22 Car. II. ch. 1.) under a penalty not exceeding £20, all assemblies for the religious worship of Protestants in places not certified, at which more than twenty persons besides the family shall be present. By this statute it is also enacted (in confirmation of a like provision in the Act of Toleration), that every teacher or preacher of a congregation duly certified, who shall employ himself solely as such, and not engage in any trade or business except that of schoolmaster, and who shall take the oaths and subscribe the declaration, shall be exempt from serving on juries or bearing parochial offices; to which is added an exemption from serving in the militia. In the next year also was passed the statute 53 Geo. III. c. 160, repealing that clause of the Toleration Act which excepted persons denying the Trinity from the benefit of its enactments. The Protestant dissenters, however still remained, notwithstanding these provisions, subject to the obligation imposed by the Corporation and Test Acts, on all those who were admitted to any office, of taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England.....This galling disability was at length removed by the 9 Geo. IV. c. 17, by which so much of these and other acts as requires the taking of the Sacrament is repealed as to all persons whatever, and a new form of declaration substituted, viz. a declaration to the effect that "upon the true faith of a Christian" the party will never exercise any power, authority or influence, by virtue of the office in question, to injure, weaken, or disturb the English Church, or its bishops and clergy; which must be made in general by every person admitted to office, who in the former state of the law would have been bound to take the Sacrament upon such his admission.....

These various acts of toleration operated, however, to the exclusive benefit of Protestant dissenters, and afforded no relief to papists. With respect to the latter, the progress of emancipation was slower and more reluctant. By statutes, however, of 18 Geo. III. c. 60, 31 Geo III. c. 32, and 43 Geo. III. c. 30, most of the severer penalties and disabilities to which they were formerly subject, were removed on condition of their qualifying by such oaths and declaration as in those acts respectively pro-

vided ; and by 10 Geo. IV. c. 7, commonly called the Catholic Emancipation Act, Roman Catholics were restored in general to the full enjoyment of all civil rights, except that of holding Ecclesiastical offices, and certain high appointments in the state. By the provisions of this statute all enactments by which any declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of the saints, or the sacrifice of the mass, were required from any person, as qualifications for sitting in parliament or otherwise, are repealed ; and persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, upon taking and subscribing an oath prescribed by the act (which comprises, among other things, the abjuration of any intention to subvert the Church establishment, and an oath never to exercise any privilege to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government), are relieved from all disabilities and penalties whatever, and made competent to sit in parliament, to vote at parliamentary elections, and to be members of lay corporations. They are also qualified, upon taking and subscribing the same oath (which is to stand in place of all other tests whatever), to exercise any franchise or civil right except that of presenting to benefices, and to hold any office, with the exception of the following,—the office of guardian, justice, or regent of the united kingdom, of lord high chancellor, or commissioner or keeper of the great seal ; of lord lieutenant, deputy, or chief governor of Ireland ; of high commissioner of the general assembly of Scotland ; or any office in the Church, or the Ecclesiastical courts, or in the universities, colleges, or public schools. Doubts, however, having been still entertained as to the right of Roman Catholic subjects in England to acquire and hold property for the support of religious worship, and for educational and charitable purposes, it was afterwards by another act of the 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 115, provided that they should be made subject in this particular, to the same laws as were applicable to Protestant dissenters ; the effect of which provision is to empower them to acquire and hold property for such purposes.

Thus amply has the law at length provided for the freedom of religious opinion. In all other respects, however, the rights of pre-eminence of the established Church have been hitherto maintained inviolate ; and though no longer upheld by penal laws against non-conformity, she retains, in full possession, all those dignities and endowments which, at the period of the Reformation, were allotted exclusively to her ministers. The endowments and provisions belonging to the different Ecclesiastical authorities, as such, comprise lands, advowsons, and tithes ; all of which have

been occasionally annexed to Ecclesiastical preferments by the munificence of antient and modern donors. (bk. iv. pt. II. ch. 2.)¹

What were the last acts of Re-establishment and Re-endowment?

Scarcely any parliamentary proceeding of this Session occasioned so much excitement out of doors as a Bill which originated in the House of Lords, where it was brought in by the Lord Chancellor, for confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of Dissenters, and arresting such litigation as had recently taken place in the case of Lady Hewley's charities, which were endowed by her for Calvinistic Independents, but gradually passed to another persuasion, the Unitarians; whose occupancy was successfully contested. The Lord Chancellor's Bill proposed to terminate all further legal controversy respecting the right to voluntary endowments connected with Dissenting chapels, by vesting the property in the religious body in whose hands it had been for the preceding twenty years. The Bill was opposed in the House of Lords by the Bishops of London and Exeter, and by the Earl of Winchelsea, Lords Kenyon, Teynham, and Mountcashel, but was carried notwithstanding by a considerable majority. Before it came under discussion in the House of Commons, symptoms of vigorous opposition were manifested by a numerous party of religionists, of whom the Trinitarian Dissenters formed a large and active portion, who represented the measure as intended to give an undue degree of favour and support to the Unitarian party. The hostility thus exhibited soon assumed the decided aspect of a religious movement. Public meetings were held, at which the principle of the proposed Bill was strongly reprobated as inconsistent with the obligations of a Christian Government; and in a very short space of time the table of the House of Commons was loaded with petitions sent up from all quarters of the country against the obnoxious proposal. Every effort was made to awaken public feeling on the subject, and all means which the opponents of the Bill had at their command, were adopted to organize a vigorous resistance to it on its appearance in the House of Commons. Under such circumstances the Attorney-General, on the 6th of June, moved the second reading of the Bill, explaining its objects, which, he said, had been much misapprehended. Neither the property of the Church of England nor that of the Wesleyan body would in fact be affected by it. It would, however, prevent a great deal of litigation, such as that in Lady Hewley's case, which had gone on for fourteen years, and might go on much longer without any

satisfactory result. The alarm was wholly unfounded that this Bill would have the effect of encouraging Unitarian doctrines. The Bill was adopted by Government on the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and it came down from the House of Lords with the concurrent approbation of all the legal authorities in that House. The first clause was an essential part of the measure. An Act had been passed in 1813, legalizing the foundation of schools or chapels for the benefit of the Unitarians, and placing them upon the same footing as other Protestant Dissenters. The question then arose respecting foundations which might have been made before 1813, when the Unitarians were excepted out of the Toleration Act—namely would they or ought they to take from that body, which was now legal and could legally endow chapels, that which they possessed, because it was given to them before the year 1862. He thought it could hardly be said that they would be giving full effect to the Act of 1813 unless they made it retrospective, as had been done with the Act which was passed subsequently to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, for the purpose of putting their schools and charities upon the same footing as those of other Dissenters. That Act had been held to be retrospective, and Roman Catholic foundations made before it passed were now held to be legal. The first clause of this Bill put not only Unitarians, but all Protestant dissenters, on the same footing in that respect; it rendered the Toleration Act retrospective. The second clause related to dissenting chapels only, and did not relate to general charitable foundations. By the present law, the will of the donor must be binding; but it was not to be assumed in the case of every religious charity that it was founded for a particular sect, even though the donor held the doctrine of that sect. It was said that the Bill would encourage trustees to violate their trusts, and hand over the property for purposes not intended: it would do no such thing, Dissenting chapels were founded in this way. Congregations of Dissenters from the Church of England, wishing to establish places of meeting and chapels for worship, formed together voluntary associations, which associations subscribed funds, purchased the land and built the chapels. The chapels, in the first instance, were vested in trustees; which was necessary there being no corporate body. But he was told so little had the trustees to do with the arrangement or control of those chapels, that in the great majority of cases, when the original trustees died off, no fresh trustees were appointed to succeed them; the congregation relying upon possession. In this country every

question of private right was decided upon *usage*—twenty or thirty year's possession; and that prevailed against the Crown and even against the Church. Why should it not be applied to the property in Dissenters' chapels? But, he was told, there would be this disadvantage—the consequence might be, that property now possessed by Presbyterians or other Dissenters would in the lapse of time fall into the hands of Unitarians. How could it be so? By this Bill, the usage must be that of the congregation—not a portion of the congregation. Suppose there was a trust for the benefit of Presbyterians—if the minister went into the pulpit and preached Arian or Unitarian doctrines, any single member of the congregation might apply to have him removed. The congregation must have sanctioned the appointment of the minister: they must also have sanctioned the change of doctrine, before any case of the sort could occur. There was therefore no real ground for apprehension that any Presbyterian congregation could be ousted and its property handed over to Unitarians. Government would be willing to listen to any suggestion, and to make any alteration which could render more clear the principle that they intended to apply to chapel property. Sir Robert Inglis opposed the measure, chiefly but not exclusively on the ground that it violated the law of property. The rights of the Church of England in charitable foundations originally vested in members of that Church might be imperilled by the principles involved in the Bill. He did not dispute that, since the Act of 1813, it followed as a legitimate consequence, that foundations held previously to that date ought to receive the sanction of law. So far, therefore, the first clause of the Bill might not justify opposition, but further than this he could not go. The Attorney-General's arguments chiefly applied to the second clause. He had argued that property held in trust did not require any greater protection than property held by private individuals; but in his (Sir R. Inglis's) view the true position was this,—that whereas they might safely take an uninterrupted possession for twenty-five years as a sufficient guarantee of the soundness of the title of the person who held it, inasmuch as his next neighbour would not be likely to suffer an undisturbed possession of what he might be entitled to; the case was very different in respect to trust property, where the interest was so divided that out of twenty individuals named in a trust-deed, it was very improbable that half knew their names were mentioned at all; so that, by little and little, the whole character of the trust might be altered by those on the spot electing persons of their own more immediate

persuasion, and gradually changing the trust from Trinitarian to Arian or Unitarian uses. To remove a trustee, of course there must be an application to the Court of Chancery; but how far then would the Bill prevent litigation? Sir Robert Inglis referred to the strenuous opposition organized by the Trinitarian Dissenters; and after commenting upon the uncertain test which the Bill provided for ascertaining the right of property in religious foundations, under the vague term "usage," he concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. Mr. Plumptre seconded the amendment; declaring that the measure outraged and insulted the Christian feeling of the country; and he never would omit to protest against an infraction of what he and a large portion of his fellow subjects held dearest,—religious truth. Mr. Macaulay began his support of the Bill by complimenting the Attorney-General on his lucid and able argument. He then proceeded to vindicate the second clause, which he said was founded on the principle of prescription, the doctrine that there was a limitation of time, after which, titles, however originated, ought not to be set aside. This principle was to be found in all laws, in all countries, and in all times—in Greece, Rome, France, England, America—in the time of ancient Athens, of Justinian, and of Lord Tenterden. It was at the very foundation of property; for imagine a man sued on a bill of exchange accepted by his great-grandfather in 1660, or turned out of his house because a musty will of Charles the First's time had been discovered! It was complained that the Bill was retrospective: so were all statutes of limitation; and in the present case the actual property of the possessors was so mixed up with the endowment that the principle of limitation applied with double justice. In illustration, he mentioned chapels at Cirencester, Norwich, Manchester, and other places, where Unitarian doctrines have been preached for seventy years, and where the chapels have been rebuilt, embellished, provided with libraries, and with burial-grounds, endeared to the possessors by the most sacred associations of buried affection. In reply to the charge that the Unitarians were guilty of fraud because they retain funds bestowed by Trinitarian founders, he pointed to other sects which had abandoned the tenets of their founders; the first Scotch Seceders differed with Whitfield on state connexion, but now the Dissenters of Scotland were clamouring for the voluntary principle; Wesley to the last condemned lay administration of the sacraments, which was permitted by the Conference soon after his death; and thus every building belong-

ing to a Methodist society was devoted each Sunday to what John Wesley pronounced to be a sin. But he was most astonished to see the Irish Presbyterians cry out against an *ex post facto* Act. The Presbyterians of Ireland had gone on celebrating marriages according to their own rites for a long time, and the Unitarians had also occupied certain chapels for a long series of years; and neither in the one case nor in the other was any question on the subject raised until recently. About the same time, however, the question in both cases was suddenly raised; and then the courts of law, however much they might regret the necessity, felt bound to declare that, according to the law, neither in the case of marriages nor in the case of chapels was prescription to be set up. And would the Irish Presbyterians, who would desire an Act to be passed to relieve them from the obligations of this, now oppose the Unitarians, who sought a similar privilege? Mr. Colquhoun contended that a distinction must be made between trust property and private property in applying the principle of usage; and he protested against the Legislature stepping in to arrest the course of law. Mr. Bernal and Mr. Milnes spoke shortly in favour of the Bill. Mr. Fox Maule regretted his painful position in opposing political friends by whom the measure was supported. He condemned the proposal to supersede the intentions of founders by a prescription of twenty five years. If the Bill were passed, it would not only be unjust towards foundations at present established, but would be the means of checking the Christian benevolence of persons who might be anxious hereafter to found trusts of a similar kind. Neither the Scotch nor the English law of limitation was retrospective in the sense in which he understood the term; that is, they did not bar actions to be commenced within a limited period after the passing of the Act. He denied that the Bill would prevent litigation, and he complained that the Presbyterians of Ulster had had no opportunity of being heard by counsel against the measure. Mr. W. E. Gladstone entered into a long retrospect of the religious history of the country, by which he showed that at the time when most of the endowments held by Unitarians were instituted, between 1690 and 1710, and for thirty years afterwards, the founders might be supposed to be generally alive, watching the progress of events: that the Dissenters began in that period to manifest a general reluctance to subscribe to articles asserting the doctrine of the Trinity; that even those who did so were not proved to have had the intention of binding their posterity:—in short, that it might be regarded as an open

question. Mr. Sheil said he was delighted to hear Mr. Gladstone pronounce the Bill reconcilable to the sternest state-conscience, and, as a Roman Catholic, he declared that the great body of his persuasion in Ireland were to a man in favour of the measure. To illustrate the hardships which it would prevent, he mentioned the case of a person, the widow of an Unitarian, who received a pension from an Unitarian fund; and if the Bill were not to pass, she, with four daughters, would be deprived of their pittance. In answer to Sir R. Inglis's arguments upon the inviolability of the intentions of founders, Mr. Sheil jocosely alluded to the college at Oxford founded by William of Wykeham, by whose will a most strict observance of Roman Catholic worship and ordinances had been enjoined upon the objects of his bounty. Sir R. Peel said, that notwithstanding the great preponderance of argument on one side, almost unexampled in his parliamentary experience, he could not let the debate close without giving the Bill his decided and strenuous support:—"I am bound to say, that my opinion was formed without any very deep consideration of the historical truths or of the legal doctrines which have been presented to us in the course of the debate upon this subject. With respect to the legal doctrines, I am not about to undervalue the great legal doctrines which are to be found in the law of England: the great doctrine of trusts, I dare say, ought to be held in much veneration and respect: but I say this, if that or any other great legal doctrine imposed the necessity of inflicting wrong, I would look out for a mode of obtaining an alteration of that doctrine; because, first, I think that individual justice requires it, and, secondly, because in proportion to the importance of the doctrine,—in proportion to the advantage of maintaining it,—so in proportion is increased the necessity of not subjecting it to the odium of being an instrument for inflicting wrong. I think it would be unjust to permit any rule of law to be so applied that chapels now held by certain Dissenters from the doctrines of the Church of England shall be taken from them, and applied we know not to whom; because, after we have taken them away from the present possessors, there will arise most complicated and most intricate questions as to whom that possession shall be bestowed upon." Repeating that the Bill would not touch endowments where the founder had expressly declared that the doctrines of the Trinity should be preached, he proceeded:—"I can understand why the Unitarian should have said nothing as to his intention—the principle of the law was against it. There was a motive for the concealment of his intentions; it was wise in him to deal in generalities, because

the law that then existed told him that if he contravened the doctrine of the Trinity his property was forfeited. But why should the Trinitarians, who meant to maintain the Trinity, remain silent as to their intentions? The doctrine of Unitarianism was repugnant to their feelings; the law would respect their endowments; and if the intention existed, what motive could they have in their trust-deeds for expressing nothing more specific than 'the chapel was founded for the worship of Almighty God, by Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination?' Is it not more probable that the founders of those chapels were hostile to any subscription whatever; that they wished to retain full freedom of opinion; that they objected to conform to any sect, and that they, therefore, refused to bind their successors by any formula of particular doctrines, respecting in them that freedom of opinion which they claimed for themselves? And can I then, with any justice, presuming that to be their intention,—would it, I say, be showing a respect for the trust, a veneration for the intention of the founders, if I were to impute to them opinions and desires which they never entertained?" Sir Robert stated the case of disputants in Ulster: "In the year 1830, the Remonstrants of Ulster, having previously professed Unitarian doctrines, separated from the Presbyterian Synod, and the separation was made upon the distinct understanding that the Remonstrant Synod should remain in the possession of all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by them before. Their chapels then were in decay. The members of the congregation, however, since 1830, have repaired the chapels, rebuilt them, taken fresh sites, furnished additional burying-grounds, and have altogether much improved their condition. Not a word of disturbance was heard till after the decision in Lady Hewley's case, and then the principle which governed that decision induced persons who appeared to have no direct interest in the matter to bring actions against the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. To do what? To recover Trinitarian property? No: but to take from Unitarians the chapels they have built or enlarged, and the burial-grounds where their wives and fathers are interred." A deputation from the Remonstrant Synod appealed to Government; the Ministers attempted to bring about an amicable accommodation; but failing, there was no other course open than legislation to prevent injustice. Sir Robert Peel concluded by reminding the House that charity is greater than faith. Lord John Russell so completely concurred in Sir R. Peel's opinion as to the preponderance of argument on one side, that he thought it superfluous to enter into any reasoning in favour of the Bill: he merely rose to

express his strong feeling that it was founded on sound principles of policy and justice. Lord Sandon said that his bias in favour of the measure had been strengthened by the discussion. The House divided, and the amendment was negatived by 307 to 117; majority in favour of the Bill, 190. On the motion being made for going into Committee on the Bill, some further discussion arose.—Mr. Plumptre, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Darby, Colonel Sibthorp, Mr. Lawson, and Colonel Verner, argued strongly against its general principles, but without dividing the House. Mr. Plumptre said that, as compared with this Bill, the “Appropriation Clause” was absolute honesty and purity; and had the measure been brought forward by Lord John Russell, he was persuaded the present Government would have opposed it. In Committee many amendments were proposed, but without success. On the second clause, Mr. Shaw divided the Committee on a proposition to the effect, that when documents contemporaneous with the endowment existed, showing the religious creed of the parties, usage should not be taken as evidence against such documents. This amendment was negatived by 161 against 43. On the third reading the opponents of the Bill again assailed it, Mr. Colquhoun moving, and Sir R. Inglis seconding, an amendment that the Bill be read a third time that day six months.—Lord Eliot declared himself a convert to the propriety of the measure.—Sir Thos. Wilde also announced his adhesion to it. Although at first he had been inclined to object to it, he had, after diligent consideration, arrived at the conviction that it was a Bill to prevent confiscation, and to protect the intention of founders from being defeated. Lady Hewley’s case had decided nothing; it had only shewn more clearly the necessity of applying to religious endowments the principle of limitation which pervaded the law generally. After some observations from Mr. Shaw in opposition to the Bill, the House divided:—for the third reading, 201; against it, 81: majority, 120. It was then passed. The House of Commons having made some amendments, though of an unimportant nature, in the Bill, it became again the subject of discussion in the House of Lords: the Bishop of London availed himself of the opportunity to renew his opposition to it, declaring his opinion that it was alike at variance with the rules of equity, and the principles of religion. He felt that, on such a question, he was justified in offering a pertinacious opposition, for the purpose of giving further time for consideration. One of the effects of the Bill would be to bar the relators in the great cause which had been tried in Ireland, which was almost equal in importance

to the Lady Hewley cause in England. He objected to the precedent which the words "meeting-houses for the worship of God" would establish; for until now these words had not been used except in reference to the religious worship of the Church of England. It had been assigned as a reason for this measure, that the other House of Parliament, which represented the feeling of the people, had sanctioned it by large majorities; but, without intending any disrespect to that assembly, he denied that the House of Commons represented the religious feelings of the community; and he contended that the great majority of the religious portion of the people considered the Bill as alike opposed to truth, equity, and religion. He moved that the amendments be taken into consideration that day three months. The amendment was supported by the Earl of Roden, Lord Teynham, Lord Lyttelton, and the Earl of Galloway, and opposed by the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, by Lords Brougham and Cottenham, and the Lord Chancellor. Their Lordships then divided upon it as follows:—for the amendment, 41; against it, 202: majority for the Bill, 161. (1844).

Another subject to which the Ministers early invited the attention of the legislature, was that of the oaths taken by members of Parliament. This matter had been a good deal discussed in the preceding session on the occasion of a Bill introduced by Mr. Monsell for altering the oath required to be taken by Roman Catholic members in pursuance of the Relief Act of 1829, which Bill, after passing the Commons, was thrown out in the House of Lords. The Government on that occasion had been urged, from various quarters, to take up the question and to bring in a Bill for assimilating the oath to be taken by the members of all religious communions without distinction. Acting on this suggestion Sir George Grey now moved for leave to bring in a Bill. The Right Hon. Gentleman said that he adhered to the opinions which he expressed last session in the debate on Mr. Monsell's Bill, and that he thought the time had come when one general oath should be taken by all Members of Parliament indifferently. It was not he thought necessary any longer to maintain the portion of the oath relating to abjuration or supremacy; or the maintenance of the Established Church, as the existing law was quite strong enough for the purpose. He therefore proposed that the present oath should be repealed and a short form of oath should be substituted, as follows:—

"I, A. B. do swear that I will faithfully bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and defend her to the best of my

power against all conspiracies whatever which may be made against her power, crown, or dignity." Mr. Newdegate opposed the Bill, and said this was not the time, whilst the Fenian conspiracy existed in Ireland, to sweep away a portion of the oath of supremacy. He appealed to the number of petitions which had been presented to the House against any relaxation of the Protestant securities. Mr. Chambers and Mr. Whalley also opposed the Bill; but on a division being taken on the motion of Mr. Newdegate, the second reading of the Bill was carried by a great majority, only five dissentients voting for its rejection. The bulk of the Conservative party, it thus appeared were not disposed to resist the proposed alteration; only Mr. Disraeli gave notice of certain amendments which he should propose, in order to strengthen the guarantees which he considered necessary. With this view he moved that the following paragraph be added to the oath of allegiance proposed by the Bill:—"And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend the succession to the Crown, as the same stands limited and settled by an Act passed in the reign of King William III., intituled 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the Subject.'" Sir George Grey intimated that there would be no objection to the addition of these words, which were accordingly adopted. Mr. Disraeli next proposed to add another paragraph in these words:—"And I do further solemnly declare that Her Majesty, is, under God, the only supreme governor, of this realm, and that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath any jurisdiction or authority in any of the courts within the same." The Attorney-General opposed the motion on two grounds,—first, that the words were incongruous with and unnecessary to the object of the oath; and secondly, that it would be obviously mischievous in itself. It was a mere abstract declaration, a truism, and a platitude, only of use as a test. But this was not all, for it could not be said that it was even harmless, inasmuch as it really limited the jurisdiction of the Queen. Sir H. Cairns and Mr. Whiteside supported the amendment, which was opposed by Lord E. Howard and Mr. Lynam. On a division it was negatived by 236 to 222. The Bill, thus amended, was sent up to the House of Lords; where it met with a favourable reception, the Conservative leaders in that House not insisting on their objection to it. In the debate on the second reading, the Earl of Derby, although admitting that the present offensive oath ought not to be retained, said there was yet a further question, whether that por-

tion of it which protected the Protestant Church in Ireland should be struck out. The oath, in whatever terms it was framed, should express allegiance to the reigning sovereign, recognize the Protestant succession, and maintain the supremacy of the Crown. A difficulty however arose as to the mode in which the supremacy of the Crown should be expressed, and whether it should be confined merely to the civil and temporal authority of the Crown, or extend to its supremacy also in matters ecclesiastical. He would not offer any opposition to the Bill, but he thought it ought to be amended in committee, so as to render it more acceptable to all classes of the community, especially with reference to the question of supremacy. Lord Ravensworth opposed the Bill. Lord Chelmsford did not approve of the omission from the new oath of the declaration, that no foreign prince, prelate, or potentate hath or ought to have jurisdiction within this realm, and the disclaimer of any intention to interfere with the Established Church. He gave notice therefore that he should move in committee the addition of an amendment to effect the objects which he had in view. On the committal of the Bill, an amendment proposed by the Marquis of Bath with the professed object of excluding Jews from Parliament having been negatived, Lord Chelmsford moved a proviso declaring that the supremacy of the Crown should not be impaired by the repeal of any of the Acts contained in the schedule. Lord Camoys, as a Roman Catholic Peer, did not object to this amendment, though he thought it might lead to misunderstanding. Earl Grey saw no advantage in it. Lord Ellenborough was in its favour, Earl Russell thought its adoption would have no practical effect and would not oppose it. It was therefore adopted. (1866.)

A Bill which raised some important questions of principle in regard to religious disabilities for office, was brought in at the beginning of this Session by Sir Colman O'Loughlen, for repealing the restrictions which debarred Roman Catholics from holding the offices of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland; also to enable Roman Catholic Mayors and Judges to attend their own places of worship in their robes of office; and further, to substitute for the oaths required of Roman Catholics on taking office the same oath as is taken by Members of Parliament of that persuasion. The Government did not oppose this measure in its entirety, but they desired to impose some limit on the relaxation of the existing law which it proposed. An amendment having been moved in Committee by Mr. Candlish, to omit the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from the operation of the

measure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on behalf of the Government, supported the motion. While he admitted that there were good reasons for throwing the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland open to Roman Catholics, he said there was a great difference with regard to the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and he thought it an indiscreet act of the Roman Catholics to press for a change of the law with regard to the Lord-Lieutenant. He believed that their doings would revive prejudices and excite animosities which were happily subsiding. Mr. Gladstone supported the Clause. The functions of the Lord-Lieutenant as to ceremonial were of a high order, but his political functions were of a less order than that of the Secretary of State who directed his policy, and who might be a Roman Catholic. In the government of the three kingdoms, they ought to have respect to the character and the convictions of each country. The Amendment was then put, and declared to be carried by a very small minority—143 against 140. The Bill received the support of the Government in the House of Lords, Lord Derby stating his opinion that it was in accordance with the spirit of recent legislation, and that he saw no objection to it. The question of excepting the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from its operation was, however, again raised by Lord Lyveden, who moved an amendment, making the Bill applicable to the Viceroy. The Earl of Kimberley and Earl of Denbigh supported this proposition, which was opposed by the Earl of Bandon and the Bishop of Down. Lord Derby also resisted the Amendment. Giving the Bill as it stood his cordial support, the noble lord said that the Lord-Lieutenant was the delegate of the Sovereign, who by the constitution was required to be a Protestant, and on constitutional and political, but not on religious grounds, he objected to the amendment. Upon a division it was rejected by 69 against 55. Some objections were urged to enabling a Roman Catholic to hold the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the clause which repealed the prohibition against mayors and municipal authorities attending Roman Catholic places of worship in their robes of office was also excepted to, but the objections were overruled by the House, and the Bill was passed. Another measure of cognate nature, for relieving the holders of civil offices from making a declaration against transubstantiation on taking office, also received the sanction of the Legislature, after an ineffectual protest by certain Members in both Houses noted for their unqualified aversion to the distinctive tenets of the Romish Church. (1867.)

The Session of 1868, which was in various other respects a memorable one, happily witnessed the conclusion of a long-pending controversy, by bringing to a legislative settlement the much-vexed question of Church-rates. This fruitful topic of discussion and agitation, of which all parties were thoroughly wearied, was laid to rest in a manner which if not satisfactory to all minds, appeared on the whole a preferable result to that chronic irritation and suspense which the previous state of the law had engendered, and which there seemed no other prospect of allaying. The schemes for settling the problem, which had at different times during the last few years been propounded in a more or less formal shape, were of various characters. The Conservatives some time ago had proposed to exempt any one from payment on his declaring himself a Dissenter, and accepting some consequent disqualifications. This scheme, under various modifications, had been proposed Session after Session, and had of late been promoted by Mr. Hubbard and others who acted with him. It was forcibly objected to this plan, that it stamped or "ticketed" as Dissenters a distinct party in the parish, and tended to cut them off from joining the Church, or at least threw obstacles in the way of their conformity. Mr. Bright again had suggested that all that was necessary was to abolish the compulsory machinery of summons and bailiff, leaving the law in other respects *in statu quo*. This idea appears to have caught the mind of Mr. Gladstone, and to have suggested to him the rudiments of the plan which he propounded in the present year as the basis of a settlement. The situation of the Conservative party in office, and other circumstances, combined to render the plan acceptable to a large majority of the House of Commons, and to produce, after certain modifications of detail, its ultimate adoption. At an early period of the Session no less than four Bills on the subject were together offered to the House for their selection: first, that of Mr. Hardcastle for total and unconditional abolition; next, that of Mr. Hubbard, which proposed an optional exemption under the conditions above described; thirdly, a plan of Mr. Newdegate for fixing the liability to the rate as a compulsory charge upon property instead of upon persons; and fourthly, the measure proposed by Mr. Gladstone. The latter Bill came on first for discussion on the second reading, when Mr. Gladstone gave a short explanation of its provisions. He said that it would abolish henceforth all legal proceedings for the recovery of Church-rates, except in cases of rates already made, or where money had been borrowed on the security of the rates; but it

permitted voluntary assessments to be made, and all agreements to make such payments on the faith of which any expenditure had been incurred would be enforceable in the same manner as contracts of a like character in any court of law or equity. No one who had not paid would be able to vote on any question relating to voluntary assessment. Mr. Gladstone expressed a strong hope that the Bill would elicit such a concurrence of opinion as would lead to a satisfactory settlement, but intimated that if it failed he should no longer stand in the way of the total abolitionists. To Dissenters the Bill offered an abandonment of the principle of compulsion, while to Churchmen it offered the advantage of retaining and extending the existing machinery by which, in many cases, voluntary rates were now levied, without the smallest idea of resorting to compulsion. Explaining the machinery of the clauses, he showed that agreements to pay a voluntary assessment, if any expenditure had been incurred upon them, would be in the same position as contracts to subscribe to a hospital, to a religious society, or a Dissenting place of worship, and could be enforced in a court of equity. To those who objected to the principle of total abolition, he pointed out that but for Lord Derby's abolition of vestry cess in Ireland, more than thirty years ago, the Established Church of Ireland would have ceased to exist long since. Mr. Henley asserted that the Bill would be an aggravation of the evils of total abolition, and would put so many difficulties in the way of collecting voluntary subscriptions, that he preferred Mr. Hardcastle's Bill. Mr. Gladstone had made it quite clear that any man who agreed to pay a rate might be made a party to a Chancery suit if somebody else failed to carry out their agreement, and this was not a prospect likely to stimulate voluntary contributions. Mr. Gilpin promised to support the Bill provided it was accepted by the Conservative party as a satisfactory compromise. Colonel Barttelot did not wholly approve of the Bill, but supported it as containing materials for a settlement of the question. Lord Cranbourne said Mr. Henley adopted the tone of "all or nothing," but he could not forget that from the same hand from which this Bill came, another measure on another subject was offered which was rejected, and in consequence a much more extensive measure had been carried. He thought it wise to accept this offer, because they might go farther and fare worse. After some further observations from various members the Bill was read a second time. The other three Bills were on a subsequent day passed through the same stage, but with the same understanding that they should

then be postponed for a time while that of Mr. Gladstone was proceeded with in Committee. The first clause of this Bill contained the pith of the measure, the abolition of compulsory Church-rates. Mr. Henley insisted on dividing the House on this clause, which was carried by an overwhelming majority—167 against 30. The other clauses underwent some amendments, chiefly of a formal kind, and the Bill passed through Committee. The third reading was affirmed, a division being called for by Mr. Newdegate, by 131 to 28. On its being sent to the House of Lords it was proposed by Lord Malmesbury that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. Earl Russell, under whose care it was placed, professed his willingness to assent to this course, but on the understanding that the principle was admitted, and that there would be no attempt to shelve the measure for the Session. Lord Malmesbury having assented that the Committee should not enter into the general question of abolishing Church-rates, the House agreed to the motion. The result of the reference to the Committee was that although the abolition of the compulsory Church-rate was retained, considerable modifications were made in the machinery of the Bill, the Lord Chancellor taking an active part in the process of amendment. The effect of these alterations was clearly stated by Earl Russell upon the occasion of the House resolving itself into a Committee on the Bill as amended. His lordship said, "My impression is, that a Bill designed simply to abolish Church-rates unconditionally, would, in effect, differ very little from what will be entailed by the passing of this. A few cases will occur of parishes in which there are no resident landlords, but only poor farmers, having a large and expensive Church to maintain; in such cases local contributions will be few, but here the Church Building Society and other societies will step in to advance the necessary funds. This is merely my impression of what will occur, though of course the Bill makes no allusion to such cases. It is stated in the preamble that Church-rates have practically ceased in a great many parishes; this is, no doubt, perfectly true, and the first clause proceeds to enact that there shall be no power whatever to compel payment of Church-rates. To that first clause the Government agrees, and therefore in principle the prayer of the Dissenters is, in fact, complied with. The object of the House of Commons was to distinguish between ordinary payment and payment compelled by Act of Parliament, in which latter case all will agree payment should continue, because such payments are not properly Church-rates, but are equivalent to commutation of tithes. There are

some other cases which may be doubtful, and no matter what arrangements we may make, it is impossible that we can absolutely prevent disputes. All that we can do is to reserve Church-rates which are really commuted tithes, and to take our chance as to any disputes that may arise, and as to the necessity of future legislation, which is not unlikely to occur, especially as there are no less than 700 Acts of Parliament, some of them of a very difficult and intricate nature, in which Church-rates are mentioned. So much with regard to that portion of the Bill which relates to the abolition of compulsory Church-rates. The other part of the measure relates to voluntary contributions for the repair of the fabric, and for the other purposes for which rates have been levied. Now the Bill allows vestries to continue the making and receiving of rates, the only difference being that the power of compelling payment is taken away. A vestry may decide that a certain sum is required, and persons may voluntarily pay at a certain rate in the pound. I think that in this respect the Select Committee have made an improvement, for they retain the vestry, the name and powers of which are well known, and I can conceive that in numerous parishes where Church-rates are at present made no great change will occur in consequence of the absence of compulsion. Things are far more likely to go on as at present under these circumstances than if a new body were constituted, as was proposed by the other House. Then there is a clause empowering the incumbent and two householders, one appointed by the patron and one by the bishop, to act as trustees and receive any bequests, donations, or contributions for Ecclesiastical purposes, which funds they may hand over to the Churchwardens, to be applied to such ecclesiastical purposes as they may specify. That is a provision which will come into operation in some cases, but I think that the Church Building Society or the Churchwardens, will generally apply the contributions they may receive. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack has given notice of a further clause, requiring the trustees to lay before the vestry an annual statement of their receipts and expenditure. Upon the whole this is a Bill which fulfils its object; for while abolishing compulsory rates, it empowers the vestry to make voluntary rates, and it also empowers trustees to receive contributions. As to its general effect, it is, I trust, the settlement of a controversy which ever since 1833 or 1834 has given rise to much ill will and litigation, and therefore the termination of such a dispute is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Moreover, there is much greater anxiety than used to exist to preserve ancient fabrics which

are objects of reverence. Such feelings are not confined to members of the Church, for many Protestant Dissenters, members of whose families have been married in Churches in past times, would be most unwilling to see these edifices fall into decay, and when the obnoxious compulsory powers are removed I believe they will contribute voluntarily. I know a case, indeed, in which a Dissenter gave £100. each to two Churches, and I believe such cases will be more numerous after the passing of this measure. I hope, therefore, your lordships will adopt the Bill in its present form, and send it down to the House of Commons. I believe Protestant Dissenters, both those who are Members of the House of Commons and others who have taken a leading part in the controversy, are satisfied with a measure of this kind, and I am sure it will be a great advantage if we can pass such a Bill by the general consent of both Houses and of both Churchmen and Dissenters. It is much better to settle the question in this way than to leave it open, to be settled, perhaps, hereafter with angry feelings, when one party will be elated by victory and the other will feel sore under defeat. I shall not myself propose any alteration in the Bill as settled by the Select Committee."

The Marquis of Salisbury complained that the Committee had struck out several of the provisions which had been originally in the Bill for the protection of the Church; for instance, the provision by which a Dissenting churchwarden was restrained from administering the voluntary rate, and the compulsory collection of the contributions when once promised to the rate.

The Archbishop of York approved of the changes which had been made by the Select Committee, as did Lord Lyveden, but the Bishop of Oxford expressed a different opinion. The right reverend prelate, after protesting against the notion that the imposition of a tax upon property could be regarded as a persecution of Dissenters, and expressing his opinion that in one or two of its principal provisions the Bill had been seriously injured, on the next stage of the measure, moved to insert a clause providing that no person should be allowed to vote upon the expenditure of any money for Church purposes who had not contributed to the rate levied for the same. The Archbishop of York opposed this amendment as calculated to alienate waverers from the Church, and it was rejected by a majority of forty-six peers against thirteen. On the question that the Bill do pass, certain amendments having been made at the instance of the Bishop of London and the Lord Chancellor, some parting words were uttered at the last stage of this long-pending controversy. The Bishop of

Gloucester and Bristol wished, in a few sentences, to enter his protest against the passing of this measure. In saying "non-content" he was uttering the sentiments of others as well as his own. He protested against the passing of the Bill, because it was the giving up of a great principle. By passing this Bill they were giving up a portion of the heritage of the Church. He knew that these terms sounded very old-fashioned; but he thought it not amiss that a voice should be raised in favour of old and constitutional principles. He protested earnestly, but respectfully against this Bill. As it had come up from the Commons, it contained provisions which would have put the Church in a better position than that which she would occupy under the measure as it was about to pass. He held that a Bill for the simple and unconditional abolition of Church-rates would be better than this. If injustice were to be done, it would be better that it should be done by a Bill which would not have the appearance of doing what was right. If Church-rates were abolished altogether, the Church would at once have to re-organize a system by which a substitute might be procured. The passing of such a measure as this would place her in a less satisfactory position. Lord Lyttleton said that when many of their lordships hoped rather than expected that the Bill would enable them to hear no more of that question for a long time to come, he must express his entire conviction that the whole agitation against Church-rates and the proposal of their entire abolition were as totally unfounded in justice as any movement that ever occurred in this country, except upon a ground that would go a great deal farther, and would extend even to the abolition of the Established Church. The repeal of Church-rates had been advocated on considerations of expediency, with a view to conciliate the Dissenters; but he doubted whether it would have that result. He had very slight hope indeed that this Bill would lead to any good, yet as it had been agreed to by both sides, he could not offer any opposition to it. The Lord Chancellor disagreed both with the noble lord and the right reverend prelate as regarded the comparative disadvantage of the Bill, as it stood, and a measure for the complete abolition of Church-rates. He thought the present measure very much better for the Church; and he had a sanguine hope that in many parishes in the country it would work very satisfactorily. If there was a parish in the country which thought it had got a better machinery of its own than that provided by the Bill, it would be perfectly at liberty to employ that machinery; and that he deemed a merit in the Bill. The Bill

was then passed. On its being returned to the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, though he intimated his doubts whether all the amendments made by the Peers would be found to have improved it, declared his willingness to accept the measure as it stood, and it was passed without further discussion, and became law. (1868).

The Bill of Mr. J. D. Coleridge for abolishing Religious Tests in the Universities, which in the Session of 1867 had been passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords, was revived in the present Session. The author of this measure had great difficulties to encounter in consequence not only of the determined opposition of the Conservative party, but of the state of public business, which afforded very scanty opportunity for the consideration of any measure, except those which were in the hands of the Government, and were necessary to be carried through within the limited duration of the Session. The Bill was indeed fully debated upon the second reading, but it could not be carried, notwithstanding the support of a large majority, beyond that stage. The single discussion which took place upon it was an interesting one. Mr. Coleridge in his speech explained that the present Bill was an amalgamation of those of Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Dodson. It dealt with two separate subjects. It provided that every subject of this realm should be admitted to the full benefits of the Universities without distinction of creed. But it did not interfere with the faculty of Divinity. The second part of the Bill related to the colleges. It did not compel the colleges to do any thing, but it allowed freedom of action, and it removed restrictions. It left the Church of England to stand on her own foundations and on her own inherent force. It had been said that they were endeavouring to appropriate the property of others, but it must be remembered that nine-tenths of the founders were Roman Catholics. He referred to the recent address on this subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the answer of his Grace, who said that about ten years ago he was party to a measure which was intended as a settlement of the question. But who was the party on the other side to that settlement? Had the people of England anything to do with it? The memorial to the Archbishop spoke of the Bill as having the effect of putting a stop to religious teaching in the Universities. When he was at the University the most influential religious teaching they got was derived from the writings and the example of two illustrious men who were dis-credited and dis-avowed by the University authorities,—Dr. Arnold and Dr. Newman. Indirect religious teaching

might be got from religious services, and in a hundred other ways. This indirect religious teaching was preserved by the Bill. It was enacted that the services of the Church of England should be unaffected by the Bill. Those magnificent endowments of the Universities could not much longer remain the peculium of one religious denomination. At the time of the Reformation they were handed over to the wisest purposes with the best intentions, and if that state of things had remained the colleges ought not to be interfered with. But that state of things had passed away, and with complete religious, political, and social freedom it was reasonable to expect complete educational freedom too. Mr. Walpole opposed the Bill. He said it was not a question of education, but whether Dissenters should be admitted to govern the Universities. The Church of England was as much entitled to its colleges as Dissenters were entitled to their colleges. He believed the measure would be detrimental to the convictions, the feelings, and the affections of the people of this country, with regard to that combination of religious and secular education which the people of this country had hitherto regarded with so much approval, and which they still desired to continue. Mr. Winterbotham supported the Bill in a maiden speech of considerable ability. Dissenters, he said, were the creatures of Parliament. The policy of the Act of Uniformity was to make all the people become members of the Church of England, but it had not had that effect. It was not contemplated at that time that it could have the effect of excluding Dissenters from the honours and the prizes of the Universities. One effect had been that the Dissenters had an unlearned clergy. Some of their clergy were learned and distinguished men, but as a rule they were unlearned, which had had a detrimental effect on the middle classes of this country. He believed it would much tend to lessen prejudice and to promote kindly feeling, if Dissenters and Churchmen were brought more together. What the Dissenters demanded was perfect religious equality. They asked for nothing more, and would be content with nothing less. Sir W. Heathcote argued that it was impossible to establish in colleges governing and teaching bodies of different religious doctrines without destroying religious instruction. Rather than secularize the colleges he preferred to make them denominational. Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Powell followed the same line of argument, predicting the extinction of religious teaching as the consequence of the proposed measure. Mr. G. Duff, in support of the Bill, asserted that it had in its favour the majority of the working elements of the Universities, and he should be ready to

leave the question to the tutors and professors, but that the ultimate result rested in the hands of the country clergy. He encouraged Churchmen to accept the change predicting that the culture and social influences of the Universities would inevitably convert a considerable portion of the Nonconformists who were admitted to them. But his chief reason for supporting the Bill was that it would liberate the Universities from Ecclesiastical control, and he anticipated its ultimate success from a conviction that the liberal spirit of the age, with its freedom of inquiry, must triumph over the old mediæval semi-monastic ideal of an University. Mr. Beresford Hope divided the supporters of the Bill into four classes,—the Liberal Churchmen, the honest and single-minded Nonconformists (with both of which he sympathized), the hard and dry secularists (represented by Mr. Lowe), and the free thinkers, for whom Mr. Duff had just spoken. To the bustling interference of the last school, which had alarmed Churchmen, and would also startle Dissenters when they understood its aims, he attributed the impossibility of hitting upon some compromise which would have remedied the grievances of successful Dissenting undergraduates. There were several modes in which this could be done without breaking in upon the Church of England government of the Universities. Admitting that the Church had hitherto had the monopoly of University education, he justified it by the success of the Universities in producing men of the highest eminence in science, literature, and theology. But referring to recent reforms as a proof that the Universities were anxious to give all reasonable facilities to Dissenters, he appealed earnestly to the House to refrain from legislation for a time, and to leave them to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement for themselves. Mr. C. Fortescue supported the Bill as a step, but not all that was necessary, towards making the Universities national institutions, and dealt at length with the alleged difficulties in admitting Dissenters, making much of the point that the dogmatic differences between the Church and Dissent are not greater than the discordances between various schools of Churchmen.

Mr. Gathorne Hardy's chief argument against the Bill was that the conjunction in the same governing body of men of different religious opinions with men of no religion at all must lead to confusion and frequent collision, and ultimately to the dropping of religion as an item of education. But to purely secular education Dissenters were as much opposed as Churchmen, and the Bill, therefore, would not fulfil the chief purpose for which it

was said to be promoted. Recent self-reforms, he pointed out, would enable Dissenters to take full advantage of the Universities without invading the domestic system of the colleges, and for the reward of deserving Dissenting students he should prefer to draw upon endowments especially founded for the encouragement of learning, than to accept a measure which must result in the secularization of the Universities. Mr. Bentinck and Mr. Newdegate also earnestly opposed the Bill: Mr. Neate, Mr. Leatham, and other members spoke in its favour. The House divided on the second reading which was carried by 198 to 140, but for the reasons already assigned it could not be carried further. (1868).

The University Tests Bill, introduced by Sir John Coleridge, was carried through the Commons, but practically thrown out by the Lords, Lord Salisbury succeeding in having it deferred to another session. (1870).

As the House of Lords had in the previous Session professed rather to postpone the University Tests Bill than to reject it, Mr. Gladstone prudently reintroduced it in the same terms. He was supported by a moderate majority against Mr. Stevenson's motion for the abolition of tests in divinity degrees, and against Mr. Fawcett's proposal to throw open Clerical fellowships to laymen. When the Bill reached the House of Lords many members of the Conservative party and some of the ablest of the prelates recommended the acceptance of the compromise; but Lord Salisbury, with his usual vigorous recklessness, carried by a majority of five the imposition of a test which would have been sufficiently condemned by its novelty if it had not been otherwise untenable and worthless. "No person," he moved, "shall be appointed to the office of tutor, assistant tutor, dean, censor, or lecturer in divinity in any college now subsisting in the universities, until he shall have made and subscribed the following declaration in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor, or in the University of Durham of the Warden—that is to say, 'I, A. B., do solemnly declare that while holding the office of (here name the office) I will not teach anything contrary to the teaching or Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.'" The amendment was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Oxford, Manchester and Carlisle. Among the lay peers who spoke against it were the Duke of Somerset, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Westbury, and Lord Airlie. On the other hand, it was supported by the Bishops of Gloucester, Lincoln, and Salisbury, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Colchester. When the Bill was returned to the Commons,

Mr. Hardy and other leading advocates of religious tests expressed their indifference to an illusory guarantee; and finally, the House of Lords took courage to detach itself for once from Lord Salisbury's dangerous guidance. His proposal to insist on his chief amendment—the new test—was thrown out in the House of Lords by a majority of 39 (128 to 89), and the Bill, as it last came from the Commons, was agreed to and received the royal assent. The universities thus, for the first time, admitted all lay students of whatever religious creeds on equal terms. The division list showed a considerable majority of bishops *against* insisting on the new test. Only the Bishops of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott), of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn), and of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth) voted for it; against, voted the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson), the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Harvey), of Carlisle (Dr. Goodwin), of Exeter (Dr. Temple), of Hereford (Dr. Atlay), of Oxford (Dr. Mackarness), of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth), and of Salisbury (Dr. Moberley). (1871).

Seldom has a great measure been received on the whole with such general welcome and favour in Parliament and the country, as the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Forster on the 17th of February, two days after the Irish Land Bill, in a speech which is not easily to be surpassed in strength and lucidity of expression or in mastery of detail. The object of this Act, which did not extend to Scotland or Ireland, was to secure throughout England and Wales the provision of accommodation and appliances for the elementary education of the people, adequate both in quantity and quality; an object which it proposed to secure, partly through the medium of voluntary schools already existing or to be thereafter established and partly by the establishment of rate-supported schools under public School Boards. It aimed, not at the destruction, but at the modification and developement, of the system previously existing, following in a great degree the lines of the old foundations. Debate was deferred to the second reading, but in the interval, as was to be expected, considerable opposition to the Bill began to rise in some quarters, founded on the provisions enabling School Boards to permit the teaching of particular religious views in the schools under their control, on the untrustworthiness of the municipal councils and vestries which it was proposed should elect the Boards; and on the permissive character of the compulsion sanctioned by the Bill. The first of these objections, embodying the "religious difficulty," which was the greatest with which the Bill had to deal, was

strongly enforced by the supporters of the Birmingham League, who advocated "unsectarian education" by every line and means of argument. As their spokesman, Mr. Dixon, the member for Birmingham, and founder of the League, met the Bill on the second reading by moving an amendment to the effect that "no measure for the elementary education of the people could afford a permanent and satisfactory settlement which left the important question of religious instruction to be determined by the local authorities," Mr. Forster pointed out the effect of the success of such an amendment as this at that stage of the Bill would be to throw out both the Bill and the Government, and that the questions it raised should be discussed in Committee. The amendment he said, was only explicit as to what ought not to be done, but did not attempt to define what ought to be done, as it was only fair that it should, and argued from the history of previous schemes, and from the nature of the amendment, that even the mover himself was bound on that occasion to vote against his own resolution. It was easier to advocate "unsectarian education" than it was to define it, though at the same time he thought it "not at all difficult to reach in practice," and supported it as strongly as any man. Even the numerous dissenting deputations, he showed from whom he acknowledged to have received most valuable information, had been unable to agree on a plan to recommend, or to explain consistently how "unsectarian education" was to be interpreted. "Surely," he said, "the time will come when we shall find out how we can agree better on these matters; when men will find out that on the main question of religion they agree, and that they can teach them in common to their children. Shall we cut off from the future all hope of such an agreement, and say that all those questions which regulate our conduct in life, and animate our hopes for the future after death; which form for us the standard of right and wrong; shall we say that all these are wholly to be excluded from our schools? It is not merely duty to the present and hope for the future; but it is the remembrance of the past that forbids us to exclude religion from the teaching of our schools. I confess I have still in my veins the blood of my Puritan forefathers, and I wonder to hear descendents of the Puritans now talk of religion as if it were the property of any class or condition of men.....What more can the Education League desire than they obtain in this Bill? With the exception of the principle of free schools, which I think does not meet with much acceptance, there is no principle adopted by the League which

cannot be carried out in any locality where the majority of the population desire it; and surely my honorable friend does not wish to push his educational dogmas down the throats of the majority. But wherever the majority of the population believe in his dogmas they can carry them out. This is a Bill in framing which we have endeavoured to carry out two principles, the most perfect protection to the parent, and the securing of the most complete fairness and impartiality in the treatment of all religious denominations." Mr. Winterbotham, speaking in the interest of the Dissenters, began by admitting that he had desired delay in the education of the people rather than immediate legislation, because he thought after a year or more agitation the country would have been ripe for secular education. He bore willing testimony, he said, to the "genius and courage which had framed the Bill," and would forgive much for its great excellence, that it would bring an efficient school within the reach of every child in the land. But the Nonconformists complained, he said, "first, that by this Bill the School Board in each district is left to determine the kind of religious instruction to be given in the schools founded by them. We say this is shirking the difficulty, not settling it; that the point ought to be determined by Parliament, and not feebly left to be fought over every year in every parish in the land. We say that thus the Bill, as it stands, will be a curse rather than a blessing, an ill-omened messenger of strife and bitterness. We say it will revive the old Church-rate controversy only in a worse form. It will arise in towns where Dissent being strong Church-rates had been disused long before they were abolished. Moreover, the old rate was an old and dying grievance. This is a new and vigorous growth capable of infinite extension.....The denominational system of education which we dislike, and under which we are chafing more and more each year, and which you in vain try to palliate with a Conscience Clause, is to receive an indefinite expansion, all its evils being intensified ten-fold.....No wonder that this proposal has excited general and growing apprehension and opposition.It is not merely that we fear the proselytizing teaching of the Church school. This apprehension exists, and is, to a certain extent well founded, and some think a Conscience Clause is a poor protection against it." He admitted that he himself believed it might be made effectual in that respect, but he was not content with that. To understand the attitude of Dissent towards the Church, the attitude of the Church towards Dissent must be considered. It was "speaking generally, one of dislike

and contempt, varying only in degree from simply ignoring it to petty social persecution. In many rural parishes, it is treated like the cattle plague, to be stamped out. This state of feeling is due to two causes. It is due, no doubt, primarily to the mere existence of an Established Church, intensified as its evils are by the parochial system. The law of the Church and of the land recognizes one man, and one man only, as the authorized religious teacher of the parish; all others are interlopers, trespassers, poachers on his spiritual preserve. And this is further increased by new-fangled Romish doctrines, with which we thought England had long since done, of priestly power and the necessity of episcopal ordination. The pride of office thus produced is contagious, and has spread among those who would repudiate the ecclesiastical theory on which it is based. Side by side with this there has grown up among the Dissenters an ever-increasing impatience of religious inequality, and an ever-deepening hatred of priest-craft and episcopal assumption in all their forms. The habits of independence, self-government, and free-thought are growing ever stronger among us, and we cannot brook the assumption of superiority, which, whether in the form of tolerance or intolerance, is all we generally receive from the clergy of the Established Church. Hence alienation, an absence of co-operation in social and philanthropic objects, a habit of watchful jealousy, a readiness—I confess it—to take offence, sometimes irritation, occasionally even open strife—these are the normal relations of Dissent to the Church in many parishes in the land. What should a statesman do in such a case? He should try to limit the operation of this unhappy sectarian strife, and not add fresh fuel. Multiply neutral subjects; accustom the people of all sects to meet and act together on the only possible footing—that of perfect equality; do not extend sectarian privileges to new spheres of national life and duty. Let one Established Church suffice; do not set up an Established Church in every school.....The time has come for us when toleration and intolerance are alike intolerable. Let me offer one word of warning—not presumptuously—but let it go for what it is worth. There are many Dissenters—I confess myself one of them—who would see with regret the downfall of the English Church. It is not defensible on grounds of even-handed justice; it has been a cruel step-mother to us in times past. Yet it is venerable in its associations; with all its faults it is doing good work among the people. Do not drive us all to be its foes by showing us how hard it is to limit the operation of a principle of

injustice once admitted. Take warning from history. No one will think me guilty of comparing the Established Church as a political institution with slavery. But their fate here and in America may not be unlike. Slavery might have continued to this hour, unjust and evil as it was, had it been content to remain as it was; but when it insisted on disputing with freedom the possession of new lands, and sought to extend its blight, it aroused a resistance which sealed its doom. In your Church, as in all that man as made or marred, there are tares growing with the wheat, and some would rashly pluck them out. Nay; let both grow together till the harvest. But if you insist on scattering the pernicious seed broadcast over this new-turned soil of national education, you leave us no alternative but to seek to destroy it altogether." Mr. Beresford Hope attacked the speech of Mr. Winterbotham as "singularly ill-timed, and struck in a most unfortunate key." The charge against Churchmen was, "at the present moment, exceptionally and peculiarly unjust;" and the opposition at the present stage of the Bill "the work of a disappointed faction," who "set up the independent British workman as something between an avenging angel and a noble savage, to hew down the great idol of denominationalism and to build up a magnificent temple of secularism." Sir Roundell Palmer said that the views advocated by Mr. Winterbotham were such as "never could be accepted as the basis of a common system of national education by that portion of the people who belonged to the Established Church." "We have been in hopes," he proceeded to say, "from a good deal that we have recently heard, that the religious difficulty was diminishing, was disappearing, and approaching its vanishing point. I am afraid that difficulty has expanded again into rather considerable dimensions during this debate. I own, and I say it with great regret—that I cannot think it now comes from those from whom it would formerly have been expected. We have heard much of unsectarian education. If the religious difficulty has been inflamed on this occasion, I think it is on the part of those who talk of unsectarian education. I want fairly to put this question to the House.—Is the mind of the country, on the whole, in favour of the principle of religious education or in favour of secular education?" Both from the language of the amendment and from "the broad facts of the existing schools," he argued that the former was desired generally by the people. After showing that the effect of the Irish National system was not to exclude religion from teaching, he said that, by religious education, he did not mean that the State was to

proscribe or prescribe particular dogmas ; but that nothing should be done to cripple “the power of teaching the rule of practice and of life according to the sincere belief of the teacher.....For my own part,” he said, “I would rather that my child should be educated after the manner of the ancient Persians; who were only taught to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth, rather than that he should be taught all the sciences in the world without the inculcation of that moral principle which is involved in ‘speaking the truth.’” As to the “secular idea,” he said, “the idea of telling children to learn something useful in a secular sense at school, and to learn religion elsewhere, was in substance to put religion in a point of view which is false ; and, at the same time, to teach the young to regard it in that false light.” Regretting as inevitable, but exaggerated, the differences between Dissenters and the Church, he showed that if any agreement was to be come to there must be concessions on both sides. Mr. Vernon Harcourt supported the Amendment as an attack upon a principle.—“the principle of denominational education at the will of the dominant sect,” which naturally made the Bill “one for handing over to the Church of England in all the rural districts an absolute monopoly in the matter of Education.” The Bill, not the Amendment, was evasive, for it evaded deciding the religious question. And the Amendment, if negative in terms, “involved two positive assertions”—first, that the duty of dealing with the religious question lay with Parliament ; and next, that it must be dealt with, on what he called “the great principle of the Liberal Party—the principle of religious equality. It was clear the Amendment would have been pressed to a division which might have proved dangerous to the Government in spite of Opposition support, but for some pledges given by Mr. Gladstone which caused the motion to be formally negatived. Three months elapsed between the second reading of the Bill and its being taken into committee. During that time a careful study of the direction taken by public feeling induced the Government to open the debates in committee with a proposal to adopt certain changes in the Bill, calculated chiefly to diminish the fear of its fostering sectarian discord. This fear appeared to be generally entertained with reference to the local Boards, and turned upon two points, the insufficiency of a Conscience Clause to limit their discretion with regard to religious teaching in the rate-founded schools, and the leaving wholly to their discretion the power to give or with-hold aid in the case of voluntary schools outside the circle of those founded upon the rate. Mr. Gladstone, speaking for the Government with this

view, declined to accede to a proposal of Mr. Vernon Harcourt, that the Education Department should secure that, in all schools assisted by public rates, such religious teaching as might be given should be "undenominational in its character, and confined to unsectarian instruction in the Bible." because he did not know "what, in the language of the law, undenominational and unsectarian instruction meant." But he was ready to adopt an amendment of Mr. Cowper Temple to exclude from all rate-built schools every catechism and formulary distinctive of denominational creed, and to sever altogether the relation between the local School Boards and the denominational schools, leaving the latter to look solely to the central grants for help. But in order to deal fairly by the schools of those bodies which, like the Roman Catholic, insisted on a very distinctive religious teaching, and which had the charge of some of the most degraded and ignorant of our people, he proposed to increase the central grant to *all* schools, rate-built or voluntary, from one-third to one-half of the total cost. The remaining half was to be raised by rates and school pence in the case of School Board schools, and by voluntary subscriptions and school pence in the case of denominational schools.

When Mr. Disraeli had characterized this as an "entirely new Bill," and, understanding it as a scheme which would give the schoolmaster the power to explain the Holy Scripture when he read it, declared that the Government were "inventing and establishing a new sacerdotal class," the general sense of the House on the "religious difficulty" and the new proposals was tested in a long debate upon an amendment moved by Mr. Richard to the effect that, "in any national system of elementary education, the attendance should be everywhere compulsory, and the religious teaching supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds," and forbidding the increase of grants to existing denominational schools. The debate brought out strongly the different and opposite views entertained of all the difficulties connected with the Bill and the remedies proposed by it.

Mr. Forster took the three clauses of Mr. Richard's amendment one by one, and defended in each case the course taken by the Government, explaining further its purport. Turning to the religious question, he proceeded to point out by reference to numerous individual cases the wide-spread and deep feeling of the working classes in favour of a religious education. He extracted some remarkable particulars from a book recently published under the title of "One Square Mile in the East of London." In that district of one square mile in the East end of London,

containing about 150,000 persons, the author of that book had made a house-to-house visitation for the purpose of investigating the actual extent of educational destitution, and of ascertaining the wants and wishes of the people themselves. The feeling of those whom he consulted was strongly in favour of some religious teaching, though as to the precise nature of this teaching very different views were ascertained. "These ignorant creatures did not know anything about a grand national system for the education of children; but they had a vague notion that, by religion, some sort of hope and guidance and comfort would come to them." He then proceeded to cite the opinions expressed by various religious deputations in confirmation of the same view, and then explained why the Government had found it necessary to limit in some respects, the discretion they had at first proposed to leave so largely to the School Boards, and why, with that view, they had determined to carry out the principle embodied in Mr. Cowper-Temple's amendment.

Mr. Gladstone closed the debate on Mr. Richard's amendment, with a speech remarkable for its conciliatory tone. Speaking first of the rate-schools which under the proposed Bill "would be created by the local Boards, and would remain absolutely under their control," he said that in these schools the Government, "while securing the vital principle of leaving to the teacher the exercise of his discretion, upon which his power must to a great extent depend, had taken effectual guarantees against the violation of conscience through the acts of a narrow or sectarian spirit." Of the denominational, or, as he preferred to call them, the "voluntary" schools, he said that by observing two conditions—"if we, first of all, leave in force the necessity for competent provisions from voluntary sources: and secondly, keep the public contributions carefully below the mark, which is the lowest at which a secular education can be afforded by the State"—the religious difficulty would in his opinion be effectually avoided. He pointed out to the advocates of secular education—whom he would describe, rather than as "secularists" (because there was something invidious in the name) as "those who think it no longer possible beneficially to maintain the direct teaching of religion in a system founded by public authority, and supported out of the public funds,"—that in any district in which they had a majority they could "without impediment or discredit" under the Bill act upon their own principles. To the Nonconformists he pointed out that for their sake it was provided, that in the rate-schools no denominational catechisms or formularies should be.

employed, and asked them to concede something in return for the great concession that this implied on the part of Churchmen and Roman Catholics. But beyond that concession the danger that a School Board deeply pledged to the Establishment might "aid" an Episcopalian school, till it was supported entirely out of the rates while managed on denominational principles, was avoided by the provision that the assistance given should not be given without adequate voluntary subscriptions. He concluded his speech with endorsing what Mr. Forster had said as to the determination of the Government to abide by the Bill as it now stood, and the responsibility that would be thrown on those who sought to reject it, and defended his colleague from a charge of "moral coercion" that had been freely brought against him during the interval of time that had elapsed since his speech. One of the best of our leading newspapers, commenting at this stage upon the progress of the Bill, described as its "key-note" "religious education without formulas and with a strong Conscience Clause," and showed that three principles must be considered as established by this debate on the secular question; that there was in the nation a great longing for a national system of education, *i. e.* the rapid growth of elementary schools in which children of all religious sects might meet on common ground, and run no risk of being limited to the companionship of those whose parents professed the same faith as their own; 2, that, great as the desire for this was, it was not strong enough to overcome the antipathy of the public to a purely secular system of education, especially for the children of the neglected poor; and, 3, that a uniform system was therefore, impossible, and a compromise, giving a great advantage to schools professedly neutral or wide in their religious basis, but also extending a fair amount of help to schools professedly sectarian, on condition that their sectarianism should not be forced upon any child, became necessary. That these principles were virtually accepted by Parliament became clear from the divisions which followed rapidly. Mr Richard's amendment was rejected by 421 to 60. On the one hand a proposal made in the interests of Churchmen by Sir Stafford Northcote, to omit the clause proscribing Catechisms and formularies, was lost by 252 to 95; on the other, one made by Mr. Jacob Bright, in the secular interest, to insert a proviso that none of the teaching "should be used or directed for or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination," by 251 to 130. Thus the compromise was fairly accepted, that the master, subject to the right of the School Board to

prohibit religious teaching, might read the Bible and expound it, though without the medium of catechisms or written creeds. In the rest of its passages through Parliament this great and comprehensive measure underwent no material change. The Bill was received with general approval by the House of Lords, the most interesting speech being made by Lord Shaftesbury, who denied the existence of any "religious difficulty." "The whole argument," he said "turns upon the supposition that the education is meant for persons of mature age, people with a sort of insatiable appetite for dogma of every description, and who are assumed to be somewhat settled in their mental and physical habits; whereas, in fact, the great bulk of the children whom we seek to educate are of tender years, and those of wandering parents, who never continue in one dwelling for more than three or four months. I do not believe that the religious difficulty has ever had any existence whatever except as an euphonious term for the assault and defence, oftentimes not wisely conducted on the part of the defenders, and certainly not justly on the part of the assailants, of the Established Church." (1870).

The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill was the one only instance in which the new Government deliberately attempted to reverse the legislation of the Liberal Administration. In the middle of July, Lord Sandon, a young nobleman, chiefly known in the Conservative ranks for his high character and an inclination to Low Church principles, brought in a Bill for transferring to the Charity Commissioners the powers at present held by the Endowed Schools Commissioners appointed by the Act of 1869; powers which at the close of the Session of 1873 it had been agreed to prolong for another twelve months, the original term of three years having expired. But, what was more important it was also proposed by Lord Sandon to alter the definitions contained in the former Act, so as to restore to the Church of England the administration of numerous schools in cases where the Founder had recognised the authority of a Bishop, or had directed attendance on the service of the church, or had required that the Master should be in Holy Orders. The view on which the decision of the late Act in such cases had been based was that in times when Nonconformity did not exist, when the church of the country practically covered all the ground of religious opinion, the founder of any institution in which religion was to be maintained had no course but to commit it to the established authorities; but had such founder lived in days when different religious persuasions divided the land, there was no reason that he might not have sympathised with any one of the number, and a strong presump-

tion indeed that out of a great many founders some would have been dissenters from the doctrines of the Established Church. Therefore, it was argued, and the late Parliament had acquiesced in the argument, the fairest course was to throw open to members of any religious sect all such foundations whose statutes should have been created up to the date of the Toleration Act. It may have been that Ministers were piqued by the taunting assertion of the Liberal Press, that they were tamely walking in their predecessors' steps, and were afraid to originate any measures indicative of a re-actionary policy, such as befitted those who had so long denounced their adversaries on "Conservative principles." Lord Sandon, at all events, was not afraid to commit himself to the assertion that the intention of the present measure was to reverse the policy sanctioned by Parliament when the Conservative party had been temporarily reduced to a state of helpless panic. His speech was a direct assault upon the Nonconformists, and did not fail to stir up an undesirable amount of sectarian animosity on the question of founders' wills and the character of the religious instruction to be given in certain schools.

The Division on the Second Reading took place on July 14, when Mr. Forster moved its rejection on the ground that it was retrograde and unfair. Its changes of policy, he said, were unwise and unjust, its changes in administration unnecessary and inexpedient. Under the first head, he argued that the clause which recognized as evidence of the founders' intention a direction to send the children to church, and to submit its rules to the Bishop or other ecclesiastical official, without any limitation as to the date of the Toleration Act, would practically hand over to the Church and to the control of Churchmen numerous schools which were intended for the nation at large. In illustration of the unfairness of this proposal, Mr. Forster pointed out that of 1,082 grammar schools, 584 were founded before the Toleration Act; 35 were pre-Reformation schools; 44 were founded during the Commonwealth. But where was this policy to end? The arguments by which this part of the Bill was supported would apply with more force to the repeal of the University Tests Act. Mr. Gladstone, from his place as Liberal leader, spoke against the contemplated measure as "inequitable, unusual, and unwise." Under the first head he maintained that the Church had no title to the endowments bestowed on her between 1530 and 1660—when no man could live outside her pale; and her title was in no way strengthened by the fact that the founder had directed church instruction to be given to the children. He thus argued.

the point that the retrograde legislation was unusual and unwise : "This is a Bill for undoing part of the work of the last Parliament. It is in that respect unusual. I do not wish to deny or qualify or weaken the fact that the party which sits opposite possesses, after having been many years in a minority, a large majority. What I wish to point out is this, that the history of our country for the last forty or fifty years presents to us, as a general rule, this remarkable picture : The initiative of policy in almost every instance—I do not know of even one exception—both of administrative and legislative, was supplied by the Liberal party, and subsequently adopted in prudence and honesty by the party which is called Conservative.....This is the first instance on record, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any deliberate attempt being made by a Ministry at retrogression. I invite the right hon. gentleman who appears inclined to follow me—I invite hon. gentlemen on either side of the House to tell me, do they know of any other such instance, except, perhaps, the one which happened a century and a half ago? I allude to the case of the Presbyterian Establishment, which had been placed in possession of ecclesiastical patronage in Scotland in the time of William III. There then came a Tory Ministry into power, who, in the early years of the reign of Queen Anne, made an attempt at passing a reactionary Bill. This Ministry introduced the measure which we now hear so much about for the establishment of patronage in the Church of Scotland. This involved the repeal of the previous Act of William III. This is the only solitary instance to which Her Majesty's Government can refer. And what an instance!—an instance that brought about the passage of the Act which the same party now proposes to repeal, because it was an act of retrogression, and because it interfered with the integrity of the Presbyterian Constitution. That, then, is the only instance of any similar course that can be adduced in support of the ill-omened Bill we are now invited to vote for. If that be so—if this be a most unusual step—it is also as unwise as it is unusual. What does this Bill amount to?.....What are we now asked to do? The majority of this Parliament is invited to undo the work of their predecessors in office in defiance of precedents which I should weary the House by enumerating, so great are their number and uniformity. It is rather remarkable that what is now the majority is about to undo an Act which they had never opposed in its passage. I believe that the conditions with reference to schools before the Toleration Act and before the Reformation were carried in this House without a division. I believe I am even

strictly correct in saying that this provision was not only agreed to without a division, but without an adverse voice when the Question was put from the Chair. Yet they now avail themselves of the first opportunity they have to attempt to repeal what they did not object to when it was before Parliament. Is this wise? Is it politic? Is it favourable to the true interests of the Established Church? Is it well that the members of that great and wealthy body should be represented as struggling at every instant to keep their hands upon the pounds, shillings, and pence, whatever else may be in danger? I am quite sure that there are multitudes of the laity of that Church who do not take this sordid view; but the introduction and promotion of a Bill of this nature—in defiance of all the principles of equity, will raise some such consideration in the minds of a large proportion of the population of the country.” The scattered ranks of the Liberal party had re-united for the contest. Nevertheless, after a Government speech from Mr. Gathorne Hardy, the Second Reading was carried by a majority of 82. Mr. Fawcett then tried to stop the Bill by moving an Amendment upon the motion for going into Committee, to the effect, that “in the opinion of the House it is inexpedient to sanction a measure which will allow any one religious body to control schools, that were thrown open to the whole nation by the policy of the last Parliament.” The Division on this Amendment showed a reduction of the Government majority from 82 to 61. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a moderate and liberal speech. Examining the various alternatives which lay before the Government, he showed that the arrangement now suggested was the wisest, and he explained that the object of Lord Sandon’s amendment, though it would make no difference in the operation of the Bill, would make it plainer that its intention was not to exclude Nonconformists from the governing bodies, but to provide that religious instruction should be given in these schools in accordance with the intentions of the founder. The Government would have the greatest repugnance to excluding the great body of the Nonconformists, and the precise words by which this could be done was a matter which could best be settled in Committee. Mr. Lowe showed how the new point of departure for deciding on the denominational character of a school would add some 400 or 500 schools to the Church of England, and warned the Conservative party that it was preparing for itself misfortune by giving its opponents a new grievance to remedy. It became evident that the Bill could not pass in its then state without further long and vehement discussion, during which the consolidation of the

Liberal party would continue to advance, while the differences—between the supporters of Government would become only more and more declared. Two days of business in Committee confirmed this view; and when the Bill next came on for debate, on the 24th, Mr. Disraeli announced the abandonment of the Foundation Clauses, and the restriction of the measure to the mere abolition of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the transfer of their powers to the Charity Commissioners. (1874.)¹

Who are Churchmen?

Not only the primary elements of all religious communion, but, still more, the very essence itself of the Christian religion, have been expressed with a fulness and a clearness of reasoning which very few deliberative assemblies, if any, have ever exhibited. Several eminent journals have expressed the opinion left on their minds that, both as to form and substance, no parliamentary debate in any country was ever characterised by such thoroughness and depth of investigation. The issues raised profoundly interest every Christian throughout the world. They were two in number: first, What is the minimum of belief indispensable for membership even of a Church constituted on the widest basis of toleration? and secondly, What is, and what is not, the Christian religion? who are, and who are not, entitled to call themselves Christians? These questions were looked at in their utmost breadth; and it is they which bestow such great importance on the proceedings of the Synod. Their range sweeps far beyond the limits of French Protestantism. They are emphatically the main questions of our age. They are discussed in every part of the civilised world. Endless issues in philosophy, in literature, in social and national organization, in the most inward life of men, turn on the solutions which these questions receive. The French Protestant Synod debated a problem for which every Christian communion, whatever be its form or name, is bound, under the actual conditions of modern thought, to have a clearly-conceived and distinctly-expressed answer.....The Orthodox took up their position on the cardinal principle, that the Church is a religious society held together by a common faith.....“The Synod has met,” said M. Guizot, “to determine the beliefs of our Church. There are essential beliefs which constitute a Church.”.....He (M. Colani) might have encountered M. Guizot with the undeniable truth, that a formal declaration of faith, a creed, is not an indispensable condition of a Christian Church; he might have referred to Churches which are held together by a common liturgy or form of prayer, and probably he would have commanded the assent of

some members of the Right Centre, who might have preferred to declare their belief by the import of their prayers rather than by a formal confession of faith. But this would have been only an evasion of the real question at issue, for a prayer declares a belief as effectually as a creed. A prayer addressed to Jesus Christ at once acknowledges Him to be capable of hearing and answering prayers, and a vast belief is contained in the acknowledgment He drew the correct proposition from M. Guizot—a proposition as much philosophical as religious—that religion is composed of two essential elements, an act of the intellect and an emotion of the soul. The opening of the very first debate placed the definition of the Christian religion in the very centre of the battle-field.

On the 13th of June, M. Bois, pastor of Montauban, moved the adoption of a Confession of Faith by the Synod as the standard of the Church's belief. "Along with its fathers and its martyrs, as they spake in the Confession of La Rochelle, in company with all the Churches of the Reformation in their symbols, the Protestant Church of France proclaims the sovereign authority of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who died for our offences and rose again for our justification. It preserves and maintains, as the basis of its teaching, its worship, and its discipline, the great Christian facts which are expressed in its religious solemnities and in its liturgies, more especially in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the Liturgy of the Holy Communion." Most truly did M. Vaugiraud observe of this proposal, that it sought to declare the faith of the Church on terms and conditions which would allow it to extend its limits up to the point where infidelity began. M. Bois maintained "that there cannot be a Church without a common faith. A man is not born a Christian; he becomes one by a positive act on his part. There need not be a uniform faith, but certain truths must be accepted" They (the Left) deprecated all imposition of dogma. Dogma had been the curse of the Church for centuries; it had expelled men of the most eminent piety from the Christian society; it had dishonoured and profoundly injured religion by the most revolting persecutions; it had placed religion in the intellect instead of in the heart. Dogma, too, was but intellectual reasoning—deductions from Scripture, generally narrow, ill-considered, and erroneous. Dogma had failed to secure uniformity of belief; wherefore then cumber the Protestant Church with an obsolete, ineffective, and unscriptural machinery? It had bred insincerity and hypocrisy among the clergy, thus sapping the morality of the

teachers of religion. "By imposing a creed," exclaimed M. Pécaut, one of the very foremost chiefs of the Left, "you will reap lying." Had the Liberals confined themselves to arguments of this nature, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have won the day. There were not a few members of the Right Centre who combined a strong dislike of dogma with the sincerest adhesion to the inmost truths of Christianity. It is incontestable, that dogma has often sorely defaced the fair form of Christian piety. Dogma, indeed, can never be got rid of, even by the most latitudinarian of religionists, for no religion is conceivable without dogma. That there is a God, is involved in the very idea itself of religion; yet this proposition is the greatest of all dogmas. But though Christianity contains dogmas without which it could not exist, it has not been expounded in the dogmatic form. Dogma is necessarily involved in revelation. The moral truths and the facts of revelation contain dogma: but it is not put out formally in Scripture in a scientific, intellectual form. It was inevitable that the intellectual construction of dogma should go forward; but the process has been undeniably pushed to excess. It has been too minute, aiming at too numerous and too precise definitions, and travelling far beyond the bounds of all attainable knowledge. In the pursuit of the determination of dogma, recourse was necessarily had to the physical and metaphysical ideas of the day; and by this means a large human element was imported into Confessions of Faith, that was inevitably subject to change, and even discredit..... The existence of this large infusion of earthly clay in the precious gold of necessary dogma is profoundly felt by Christians of every class. Then, unhappily, in proportion as the definitions travelled into extreme minuteness, the disposition to exact belief in every syllable they contained grew stronger and more intolerant. The spiritual element was wellnigh stifled in the intellectual. Assent was required to propositions so detailed and multitudinous, that they exceeded the powers of the human faculties to know anything about them. Metaphysics and logic set to work on revelation, and derived from it deductions which the Apostles were they alive, would be amazed to learn were contained in their teaching..... Free inquiry is a method, an instrument, the universal instrument, for discovering religious as all other truth, and its ultimate tribunal is private judgment. Protestantism recognizes both these principles for its foundation. If the debate in the Synod had turned on the principles of Protestantism as against the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, the Liberals would have had an unassailable position in declaring that they held their belief

on conviction, and not on the utterance of an infallible Pope or Church. The antagonism of the two parties would then have been real and direct. But the Right was not divided from the Left by rejecting free inquiry. Both parties accepted free inquiry and private judgment as the basis of belief; only the one held that free inquiry brought out certain conclusions—the other denied their correctness. Nor did the Orthodox, by taking the traditions, the belief, the history and lives of Christians during many ages into account, violate free inquiry. They treated them as evidence to be examined and weighed. They acknowledged the entire right, a right equal to their own to be called Christians, of men to be Deists upon free inquiry. What they repelled was the right of Deists to be members of the French Protestant or of any other Christian Church. “We do believe,” exclaimed the Liberal M. Clamagéran, “in the resurrection of Jesus Christ; only you believe in a material, we in a spiritual, resurrection of Christ.” “We preach,” cried M. Fontanès, “the resurrection in the original sense of the Greek word—the rising of the soul to a higher life. St Paul did not believe in the material resurrection of Jesus Christ. He said that if Christ had not been brought up in the higher life, he would have been still in Sheol,—that if Christ had not entered into higher life, there was no higher life at all.” M. Colani, ex-professor of Strasburg:—“You say, ‘rose for our justification:’ What does that mean? It is St Paul’s expression. St Paul is not always clear. Our fathers bequeathed to us two things: a school of theology, which is ruined; and a school of sanctification and austere life, which it is our business to build up. We keep Easter, because we see in it the triumph of Jesus Christ over death, without believing that his body left the tomb. And who can celebrate Pentecost better than we who are spiritualists? We appeal from you to Jesus Himself: not to Jesus glorified, for we know Him not; but to Jesus our brother, who pardoned sinners without atonement, who refused miracles to those who asked Him for them.” Upon this M. Jalabert distinguished the Left Centre from the Left. “We recognise Christianity as a divine revelation, the product of an intervention of God in the history of humanity, and not merely as the highest effort of the human reason. Jesus Christ is for us more than a man. On the other hand, we do not believe in the Trinity, nor in atonement by blood. The Left Centre believes in the supernatural, though free to examine any particular miracle. We believe in the resurrection of Christ’s body, nor do we admit that a minister is subject to his own conscience alone. The Left believes in

spiritual miracles wrought by the Spirit of God in souls. They are like the disciples before the Lord's death.".....The Synod adopted the motion of M. Bois by a majority of 51 against 45; and the French Protestant Church thereby made a confession of its faith—a declaration of what it holds to be true—and constituted that confession as the principle of its association.

On July 3rd a second and complementary step was made by M. Cambfort, who moved that every pastor at his ordination should declare his adhesion to this Confession of Faith adopted by the Church.....M. Bois wound up the debate by a quotation from a posthumous paper of Professor Talaquier, on whom M. Pecant, the great leader of the Left, had written an article, which M. Bois praised as being perhaps the best that had come from his pen. M. Talaquier had been eminent for moderation, and wholly disinclined to theological strife. No man had had a greater respect for the liberty of thinking of others. In this paper, entitled, 'Who can become Pastors?' M. Talaquier, after repelling the imposition of dogmatic and disciplinary formularies, which had suited a different age and a different situation, then asked: "Does this mean that the ministry is given up to every opinion?—that every one can enter without scruple, provided only that he retains the names of Christ, of the Gospel of Redemption, whatever may be the meaning that these terms may have for him? Does it mean that on this principle a Fourierist or an Icarian, a Hegelian or a Friend of Light, has right to seize on the pulpits of our churches and our academies? This is not a question of ecclesiastical discipline, but a question of conscience and of honour. What comes forth from every system is this, that a dispensation breaking forth the general course of nature and of providence, a divine intervention, constitutes the very substance of the Gospel. The supernatural clings to the very entrails of Christianity, and when this conviction is wanting, it is impossible to enter the ministry without a breach of conscience and of honour." The Synod voted the motion by a majority of 62 against 39.....Justice has not yet been done in England to the philosophical power of the discussion and the splendour of the resultA Church was an association of Christians; Who must be regarded as not Christians, and thereby altogether out of the pale of the inquiry whether they could be included in a Christian Church? The Synod affirmed the supernatural character of the Christian revelation; they excluded pure Deists—that is, men who acknowledged no higher source of religious truth than the conclusions reached by the highest reason under its most

moral.....aspect. In pronouncing such a decision, the Synod could only affirm the proposition, they could not prove it..... Was the Synod right in reason when they affirmed the supernatural character of Christianity, as constituting its *differentia*, its true and necessary essence. We answer, with M. Talaquier, that miracle is planted in the very entrails of Christianity. Without miracle the Christian religion is gone.....There are men, and they are to be found in England, avowedly treating Christianity as a mere philosophy, as an outcome of natural religious feeling, who nevertheless distinctly claim to be called Christians. They justify the demand, like the French Liberals, on the spiritual excellence of Christianity, the nobleness and elevation of its ideal, its vast power to civilise, the goodness of the character it tends to produce. They insist on their right to the name of Christians as other men style themselves Platonists or Hegelians. Viewed in the abstract, and as designating what does not pretend to be anything more than a particular school of philosophy, the right to use such a name could be resisted. If they would term themselves Neo-Christians, no objection could be taken.

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The Church is not a separate spiritual society either in the form of Prelacy, or of Presbytery, (or of Independency)..... Such divisions are already sectarian in their very conception. It is the nation itself in the aggregation of its spiritual activities—its collective Christian life and wisdom working with freedom, yet subject to the common order and law. The true rule of the Church is, therefore, neither with bishop nor with presbyter (nor with minister).....but with the supreme national voice..... The theory of a comprehensive Church, in short, embracing..... every form of Christian activity, and giving free play to every variety of Christian opinion, had no final element of control except the collective national will. It may be called the constitutional theory, in opposition to the sacerdotal and dogmatical; or the theory of the balance of spiritual forces, in contrast to that of mere autocratic will on the one hand, or dogmatic compulsion on the other.....Whatever may be thought of the.....constitutional theory, it is at least the only theory of the Church which has been found consistent with Christian science, and the cultivation of intellectual fairness no less than spiritual piety and charity. Not only so, but it is the only theory not discredited by the course of civilisation. A national Church which can embrace all the varied activities of Christian thought and life—which can appropriate instead of repelling the results of scientific discovery,

and modify instead of banning even the froward energies of communistic thought—is a possibility in the future. (Tulloch).

What is Church government?

In order to proceed in a distinct manner with our reasonings, we must have a Conception of *The State*.....

By *the State*, we mean the Community, as the Source of the reality of Rights. The State implies a collection or aggregation of men, but it is not a mere Collection, like a herd of cattle, in which there are no Rights.....The State implies Rulers and Government: but the Rulers and the Government are not the State; for the State may change its Rulers and its mode of Government; and yet remain the same State. The State implies Laws; but the State is not the Laws; it is the Origin and Enforcer of the Laws; it is the Being whose mind and voice the Laws are.....In the Jewish People, indeed, the Laws were God's Laws, supported by his sanction; and the conception of the State, as the origin of Law, was, among them, not brought into clear view.....(Bk. II. ch. 20.)¹

The necessity of depending upon assurances made by other men, gives birth to a Right in the person to whom the assurances are made. A person has, under due conditions, a Right to the fulfilment of a Promise. The Law realizes this Right, and must therefore define the conditions. The mutual assurances, which the Law undertakes to enforce, are called *Contracts*.....It has been attempted to express all Rules on this subject by saying that the Rule of Contract is *Equality*. "So that he who receives the less has a claim arising from the inequality." But this maxim must not be carried so far as to destroy the nature of a Contract: for by that, we do not agree, generally, to give and receive equal things; but we determine *what* we are to give and receive. The Rule is rather to be sought in the intentions and expectations of the parties contracting.....Yet in many cases, the estimate of the intentions and expectations of the parties must be vague and obscure; and instead of attempting to regulate the course of law by these, it may be more proper to apply strict rules of interpretation to the language of Contracts.....Rules of *Interpretation* of the Language of Contracts have been laid down by Jurists; and are an important part of the doctrine of Contracts, in its applications. These Rules, for the most part, have for their object to combine good faith with exact Law. Such are these, for instance: that common words are to be understood in a common sense; Terms of Art in their technical sense: that when it is necessary, words are to be interpreted by the matter, effect, and accompani-

ments : and the like...It is the existence of a Supreme Authority, or Government, which gives reality to the other Rights ;—the Rights of the Person, of Property, of Contract.....The Government acts as the *State*, and carries into effect the Laws by which Rights and Obligations are defined. The Government also, by means of its tribunals and judges, decides disputed questions which arise among its citizens concerning their Rights and Obligations. These are the *Judicial* Functions of the Government.... Offences against the Rights of Government are *Rebellion*, when subjects openly and by force resist the Governors : *Treason*, when by combination and contrivance they seek to dispossess them : *Sedition*, when they attempt to transfer some of the functions of Government from the Governors to other hands. (Bk. iv. ch. 4, 6.)¹

In the earlier ages of the ancient world, the province of the Legislator and of the Religious Teacher, were conceived as identical. The Legislator was himself the Religious Teacher, or had the Religious Teachers associated with him, so that their authority was combined. There was, in such cases, an identification or fusion of Law with Religion. The Precepts of Religion were enforced by State Punishments ; the Laws were supported by Religious Sanctions.....But such a state of things, though it might be suitable to the condition of man when his moral and intellectual nature was as yet very imperfectly developed, was after a time found to be intolerable and untenable. In Greece and in Rome the minds of men could not be restrained from pursuing their own speculations concerning the nature of the gods, and from coming to conclusions different from the belief which the legislator had enjoined : and though punishments were inflicted on this account, as in the case of Socrates, such occurrences only made the pressure of the evil more intolerable : while the diseased condition of the State, arising out of the discrepancy between the belief publicly professed and that privately entertained went on increasing. Moreover the harshness of a polity which took no account of the kindlier sentiments of our nature, became more and more oppressive, as the ideas of benevolence and of justice in its largest sense, were unfolded among men. And when, in addition to these causes of dissolution of such a polity, the Christian religion came upon earth, teaching with convincing evidence the true relation of God to man, and representing kindness and love as the bonds by which men were mainly to be bound together, not merely law and necessity ; men accepted Christianity as an internal government more truly corresponding to their wants and their feelings, than the merely

external government to which they had previously been subject. The internal government exercised by religion over the Christians did not immediately come into conflict with the external government of the State ; for the precepts of Christianity taught men to obey the existing authorities.....Christians were enjoined to observe, respect, and heartily conform to the relations established in the State. Thus, Christ paid tribute to the State, (Math. xvii. 24—27), saying to Peter, Lest we should offend them, go thou.... thou shalt find a piece of money, that take, and give unto them for me and thee. And (xxii. 21), he enjoined others to pay tribute : Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. So St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 7), Render to all their dues : tribute to whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honour to whom honour. And this is joined with general injunctions of obedience to magistrates (xiii. 1—5), Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power ? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid ; for he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. And (Tit. iii. 1), Put them in mind to be subject to governments (*ἀρχαῖς*) and powers, to obey magistrates. Also St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 13), Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake : whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, (who speak of you as bad subjects.). As free (in spirit), and not using your liberty for a cloke of wickedness (or sedition) (*κακίας*), but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King. The early Christians are here enjoined submission to the magistrates, as a course not only prudent, but also right and religious ; *not only for wrath* (by reason of the menace of punishment), *but also for conscience sake : for the Lord's sake.....* Men, bound together by local ties with which Christian feelings were connected, were moved to do good to their brethren as Christian teaching

enjoins. They bestowed their wealth in providing present and future relief for the sick and needy, and in the maintenance of Christian ministers and Christian worship among them and their successors. The tenth part of the produce of the land was assigned to ecclesiastical uses. These appropriations of property to religious uses may be looked upon as a measure by which a certain portion of the wealth of the country was saved from the grasp of mere private caprice and selfishness: for though such property might often be applied to its professed uses in an imperfect manner, and under the operation of mixed motives; still, it was necessarily better bestowed than wealth which was held under no condition or limitation. Ecclesiastical property has undoubtedly, in the course of the history of Christian nations, been employed in promoting benevolence, piety, learning and merit; in a far greater degree than any other kind of property. The possessions of the clergy, held on the condition of the holders being learned, pious, and benevolent, and commonly bestowed upon them, in a great degree in reference to their ability, have been of far greater value in advancing the moral and intellectual progress of society than any other portion of the wealth of nations. The cases in which the possessions of the clergy have failed to produce these effects, have occurred where clerical property has been corruptly used; namely, dealt with as if it were *private* property:—a sufficient evidence, how much more beneficial is the operation of the former than the latter kind of property.....In the course of time the holders of ecclesiastical property, became powerful and important members of the State in virtue of their property, as well as of their character.....The union of all the elements of the religious organization, as members of the *catholic* or universal *church*, gave to that organization a strength which enabled it to resist and counteract the destructive and degrading influences which prevailed in the breaking up of the Roman Empire. But the growing consciousness of this strength led gradually to the assertion of an *Ecclesiastical Supremacy* or *Spiritual Domination*.....Whenever attempts were made to establish this system of Spiritual Domination in nations of energetic character, already swayed by their political Governors, these attempts led to fierce conflicts between the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power.....But yet, in the degree in which Spiritual Domination was exercised, we see how little fit men are to be entrusted with authority of such a character. The Dignitaries of the Church, thus placed upon a footing of equal negotiation, or rivalry, with Statesmen, by no means carried into

action that better morality in which we might expect religious men to excel politicians. In their political acts, they were like other statesmen, selfish, ambitious, false, violent. Indeed it might seem as if the absence of superior control, which belongs to unquestioned Ecclesiastical sovereigns, tended to make men rather bad than good. Some of the most flagrantly wicked characters which history presents to our view, are the Church Dignitaries, and especially the Popes, just before the Reformation. It was made apparent that the notion of a Christian world, governed in a Christian Spirit, by an Ecclesiastical Body, under an Earthly Head, is one which, from the habitual conduct of men, must always be a mere dream. The resistance which was made to the claims of the Papal Power, led in various countries in Europe to the rejection of that authority altogether. The nation, in those cases, claimed for itself the right of establishing a *National Church*: a member in some sense or other, of the universal church of Christ, but independent of the Pope or any other pretended visible earthly Head of that church. But the establishment of such Churches involved also a rejection of alleged abuses in doctrine and in discipline which had arisen during the prevalence of the Papal Power. The national Churches thus established were also *Reformed Churches*. In effecting such Reformations, it is plain that the governors of the nation assert for the nation, the Right and the Duty of judging what is true in Religion, and what is false. The authority of the Romish Church was rejected in the Reformed nations of Europe, not only because the Pope's Power was an usurpation, and a political evil, but because the Romish Doctrines were corrupt and erroneous. In such a Reformation, the Church established in the nation might retain its organization, and become a member of the universal church of Christ more truly than it was before, by rejecting unchristian errors and corruptions. An *established* Church, thus *reformed*, and not destroyed in its reformation, may be looked upon as a peculiar boon of Providence; this is the form of Ecclesiastical Polity which we possess in England. But though a Reformation of the national Church does not deny, but assumes the Right and Duty of the nation to judge of religious truth; it may nevertheless happen that the indirect influence of such a Reformation may make it difficult to exercise this Right and Duty. For the very energy and freedom of mind which lead to the rejection of a system of Spiritual Domination, lead also to further differences of opinion within the nation itself. Thus the aim and plan of the *Reformation* which established the

Church of England, was to reject, both the Polity of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and the various doctrinal Corruptions and Errors, which the Church of later times taught, along with that Polity. The Church of England retained Liturgies, and an organized Church Government by Bishops. But other Reformers, the Presbyterians, rejected Bishops.....and for the most part, rejected Liturgies. These Sects, however, did not professedly differ in essential points from the ancient Belief of the Christian church, and are termed in England *Orthodox Dissenters*.....

.....The existence of the Sects, which thus arose in the various countries of Europe introduced difficulties into the administration of an Established Church in each nation. At first the duty of national religion was universally acknowledged; and the only questions agitated were what the national Faith should be, what its boundaries, and how to be secured. The existence of a great body of Dissenters from the national Church, made the nationality of the Church imperfect. To avoid this evil it was urged that the Faith and Worship of the Established Church ought to be made as comprehensive as was consistent with a due regard for Christian Truth. At the Restoration of Charles the Second, attempts were made to modify the constitution of the Church of England, so that it should include the greater part of the Orthodox Dissenters. (bk. v. ch. 16. bk. III. ch. 8).¹

Since His Majesty's Restoration (wherein the Welfare and Unity of the Church of *England* was and is still much concerned) it hath been thought reason of State, and so Resolved upon, that such Ministers as would not subscribe the Declaration, and declare as in the Act of Uniformity in 1662 is required; should not be capable of holding any Ecclesiastical Benefice..... The Act of Uniformity (although by the Subscriptions and Appointments thereof, it hath taken in many Grave, Learned, and Worthy Persons) yet others also are such taken in by it, who are not so well conditioned in their Minds, Morals, and Affections to the true Interest of the Church of *England*, as others that are now laid aside :.....So that it hath not been an adequate and sufficient Test, and standard of all men's integrity and peaceableness, nor wrought any great cure upon our Divisions, so as was expected; but we are broken still, to the great gratification of those that would invade or undermine the Church itself, by their extreme Opinions and Animosities. And it may be, upon these, or such like Considerations, some worthy Patriots in Parliament, and some reverend Fathers have not been unwilling to allow the Non-

conformists such relaxations ; and that by Law, as may be consistent with the Essentials of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*.....But I must confess that there have not been wanting also some Ecclesiastical Incendiaries and Boutefewes, who have endeavoured by their preaching and writing, and otherwise, to keep the Flame aloft, and the Wounds still fresh and bleeding..... to whose misguided zeal, and heretical heat, I shall offer nothing for the guiding of their actions and passions, but the Church's present condition ; and refer them to their own Natural and Evangelical Affections ; if there be any bowels of Love, Ingenuity or Charity to the Church and their Brethren, who think themselves as good Subjects, and as true Ministers and Members of Christas themselves.....In the mean time, If I were to Petition, I should humbly beg it upon my knees, that it would please our Gracious Sovereign, together with His Two Houses in Parliament, in whose hands the relaxation and making of Laws are ; that according to the Loyalty and Integrity of their Hearts, Principles and Actions, and no otherwise ; that they would grant those who are reputed *Presbyterians*, a liberty to preach the Gospel, with such Encouragements in their Ministry, by an Act for Comprehension, or otherwise, as they in their grave Wisdom shall think most convenient ; that so all heats and animosities, on all sides, may be quieted and quenched ; and they that have been dead, in Law, for these ten years past, may be revived which may possibly also give decayed Piety, Peace and Charity, an happy resurrection. Which God of his great Mercy grant for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.* (Philalethesairesnes).

The idea of the Church being one body and the State another body is one of modern introduction. In former days the Commonwealth of England and the Church of England were considered as conterminous ; those who were members of the one being also members of the other. At the Reformation a practice began to be introduced of calling the clergy by the name of the Church, as in the Act of Appeals, which speaks of " the spirituality now being usually called the English Church ;" their more exact designation being the " estate ecclesiastical." [24 Hen. VIII. ch. 12. 1 Eliz. ch. 1. Canons 1 and 139.]. There were, therefore, strictly speaking, no relations of Church and State while the civil and the ecclesiastical body were thus conterminous, and the only relation at all approaching to the modern idea was that between the " estate of the clergy" and the " estate of the laity." But in modern phraseology the term " State" has come to represent not an " estate" of persons, but a concrete abstraction of the legislative and executive

functions of the body politic. The term "Church," at the same time, has continued to represent not the clergy only, but those members of the body politic (clerical or lay) who are also members of the Church of England. The relations between "Church and State" are therefore the relations between all members of the Church of England, on the one hand, and, on the other, the whole body politic of the kingdom, its legislative and executive authorities. It is now a nearly recognised principle of the English constitution that Parliament is supreme. But Parliament is an imperial body, composed of some persons who are, and some who are not, members of the Church of England, and it has to legislate for the good of the whole community. Some difficulties consequently arise in reconciling the duty of Parliament to the people at large with its duty to the Church, and the constitutional relations of the two bodies are, and are likely for some time to be, in a very unsettled condition. It would be very desirable, therefore, that the convocations of the Clergy of the two provinces of which the Church of England is composed, or some other synodical assembly fairly representing the Clergy and the Church at large, should have some recognized position assigned to them in Ecclesiastical legislation ; Parliament still viewing such legislation as a question in which the interests of the nation at large are also concerned. The relations between the Church and the Crown are better settled than those between the Church and other portions of the State. The general principle of those relations is, that the Crown possesses a visitatorial and corrective jurisdiction in the Church of England, by right of which the sovereign is supreme governor over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical, as well as over all persons and in all causes temporal, within its dominions. Thus the laity of the Church of England stand in the same relation to the Crown that any others of its subjects do : the clergy in a slightly closer relation, owing to the visitatorial power residing in the Crown, partly as the founder of so many bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices, and partly as the possessor of some of the power formerly exercised by the Pope. Ecclesiastical Courts are practically held under the authority of the Crown ; their decisions being further subject to revision by the Crown on appeal. The popular idea of an "Established Church" is, that out of several churches the supreme government of a country chooses one to be the official religion ; that the State then grants to the so established church certain exceptional privileges, and places it under certain exceptional restraints. No such selection of a church was ever made by the English State, nor has any formal

compact such as this supposes been made between it and the Church of England. The church was founded in this country, when it was a Roman province, without any communication with the State; in later times the State became Christianized by it, legalized its operations, and secured to it certain constitutional privileges. Thus a system of privilege and restraint grew up, which gives some ground for the idea mentioned; but the "establishment" of the church has been effected in reality by its gradual assimilation with our national life, and not by Act of Parliament.....An actual "establishment" has indeed been erected by express legislation in the case of the Presbyterian establishment of Scotland; but a comparison of its creation by Acts of Parliament with the historical continuity of the church of England will at once show that the latter is not "by law established" in the same sense.....The old common law of the Church and State made "heresy," interpreted as dissent from the Church, a penal offence. The various Acts of Uniformity, from Edward VI, to Charles II., imposed severe penalties upon persons dissenting from the doctrines they established. Now, however, by the various Toleration Acts, the sanction of the law has been given to communities of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters; the trusts for the benefit of their religious tenets are upheld; and their worship is protected from interruption. Thus far all religious bodies may be considered as in some sense "established" in this country. (bk. I. ch. I.).¹

As the laws relating to the Church are of a mixed character, so the judicial administration of those laws is assigned to various tribunals, some of a purely Ecclesiastical kind, some of a purely secular kind, and some in which the Ecclesiastical and the secular elements are combined.....Questions respecting the orthodoxy of the Clergy, their conduct in their ministrations, and their morals, are subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishops, with the right of appeal from a lower to a higher court, and ultimately to the Sovereign in Council.

The ordinary Ecclesiastical tribunal of first instance in which the laws of the Church are administered in such cases is the *Consistory Court* of each Diocese. Every Bishop is, *ex-officio*, the *judex ordinarius* for his Diocese in respect to all matters which come within the range of Ecclesiastical law, and his "Consistory" is the ancient "Court Christian" in which his ordinary judicial authority is exercised. He does not preside over this Court in person, but by the "official principal" of his Court, who is in modern times always also his vicar-general, and usually combines the two offices under the name of Chancellor of the

Diocese. The Archdeacon's Court also has jurisdiction in certain cases, especially with reference to parish clerks.

[In all other cases of Appeals in or for any of the causes aforesaid, they may and shall from henceforth take, have, and use their appeals within this Realm and not elsewhere in manner and form as hereafter ensueth, and not otherwise ; that is to say, First from the Archdeacon or his official, if the matter or cause be there begun, to the Bishop Diocesan of the said See, if in case any of the parties be grieved ; And likewise, if it be commenced before the Bishop Diocesan or his Commissary, from the Bishop Diocesan or his Commissary, within fifteen days next ensuing the judgment or sentence thereof there given, to the Archbishop of the province of Canterbury if it be within his province, And if it be within the province of York [then] to the Archbishop of York ;..... And if the matter or contention for any of the causes aforesaid be or shall be commenced by any of the King's Subjects or Reseantes before the Archdeacon of any Archbishop or his Commissary, [then] the party grieved shall or may take his appeal, within fifteen days next after judgment or sentence there given, to the Court of the Arches or Audience of the same Archbishop [or] Archbishops, and from the said Court of Arches or Audience, within fifteen days [then] next ensuing after judgment or sentence there given, to the Archbishop of the same province, (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.).

For lack of justice at or in any of the Courts of the Archbishops of this Realm or in any the King's Dominions, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery ; and that upon every such appeal a commission shall be directed under the great seal to such persons as shall be named by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, like as in case of appeal from the Admiral Court, to hear and definitively determine every such appeal with the causes and all circumstances concerning the same ; and that such judgment and sentence as the said Commissioners shall make and decree in and [upon] any such appeal shall be good and effectual, and also definitive, and no further Appeals to be had or made from the said Commissioners for the same. (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.).

But in the case of criminal offences charged against any of his clergy, the Bishop's mode of proceeding is regulated by recent legislation, which has substituted another tribunal for the ancient Diocesan Court. This is contained in the Act 3 and 4 Vict. ch. 86, entitled "An Act for better enforcing Church Discipline." Under this Act, wherever a Clerk in holy orders is charged before

the Bishop, or there exists scandal or evil report of him, as offending against the laws Ecclesiastical, the Bishop may do one of two things: [A.] Issue a commission of inquiry to five persons who will examine the case, take evidences and hear the accused, in person or by his legal advisers, and report whether there is a *primâ facie* case against him or not. Should the commission report a *primâ facie* case, then—(1) the Bishop may (with the consent of the accused) pronounce sentence against him without further proceedings. If the accused do not consent, articles of charge must be drawn up, signed by an advocate, filed in the registry, and served on the accused. These articles may again be admitted by the accused, in which case the Bishop will pronounce sentence at once. If not, the Bishop hears the cause with three assessors, one of whom is to be an advocate or barrister of a certain standing, and another the dean of the cathedral, or an archdeacon, or his chancellor. From the decision of the Bishop an appeal lies to the Court of Appeal of the province (that is, the Arches Court for Canterbury, the Chancery Court of York for York), and thence to the Privy Council, the appeal being heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who report to the Sovereign; this report is confirmed by Order in Council, and is thereupon final. (2) After the report of the commission the Bishop may, instead of hearing the cause himself, send it by letters of request to the Court of Appeal of the province direct. [B] Without issuing a commission, or taking any step, the Bishop may at once send the case in the first instance to the Court of Appeal of the province, by letters of request..... He has, it seems, in the first instance, a discretion, and may refuse to have any prosecution instituted. If, however, he assents so far as to issue a commission, and that commission makes a *primâ-facie* report, or if he sends letters of request, his discretion is gone. [It shall be lawful for the Bishop of any Diocese within which any such Clerk shall hold any preferment, or if he hold no preferment, then for the Bishop of the Diocese within which the offence is alleged to have been committed, in any case, if he shall think fit, either in the first instance, or after the Commissioners shall have reported that there is sufficient *primâ facie* ground for instituting proceedings, and before the filing of the Articles, but not afterwards, to send the case by letters of request to the Court of Appeal of the province, to be there heard and determined according to the law and practice of such court. (3 & 4 Vict. c. 86.)]

A somewhat similar Act respecting Ritual Offences was passed in

1874, under the title of “An Act *for the better Administration of the Laws* respecting the regulation of Public Worship.” This Act purports to provide for the hearing of “representations” of alleged illegal acts or omissions in any “Church” committed or omitted by the incumbent.....The grounds of complaint which may be made are these: “(1) That in such Church any alteration in, or addition to, the fabric, ornaments, or furniture thereof has been made without lawful authority, or that any decoration forbidden by law has been introduced into such Church; or (2) that the incumbent has within the preceding twelve months used, or permitted to be used, in such Church or burial-ground any unlawful ornament of the minister of the Church, or neglected to use any prescribed ornament or vesture; or (3) that the incumbent has within the preceding twelve months failed to observe, or to cause to be observed, the directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer relating to the performance, in such Church or burial ground, of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the said book, or has made, or has permitted to be made, any unlawful addition to, alteration of, or omission from, such services, rites and ceremonies.”.....The complaint is made to the Bishop. If the Bishop thinks it not a case for proceedings, he states his reasons in writing, and they are filed in the Registry. If he thinks it a case for proceedings, he must, within twenty-one days, send a copy of the complaint to the person complained of. Both parties have twenty-one days to say if they will submit to the Bishop’s decision. The Bishop hears the matter as he thinks fit, and pronounces such judgment, and issues such monition, as he thinks proper without appeal. If the case is not submitted to the Bishop, he sends it to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop requires the judge to hear it. The judge is appointed by the two Archbishops, with the approval of the Crown.....From his judgment an appeal goes to the Privy Council. [Be it enacted by the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :.....

7. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York may, but subject to the approval of Her Majesty to be signified under Her Sign Manual, appoint from time to time a barrister-at-law who has been in actual practice for ten years, or a person who has been a judge of one of the Superior Courts of Law or Equity, or of any court to which the jurisdiction of any such court has been or may hereafter be transferred by authority

of Parliament, to be, during good behaviour, a judge of the Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York, hereinafter called the judge. If the said Archbishops shall not, within six months after the passing of this Act, or within six months after the occurrence of any vacancy in the office, appoint the said judge, Her Majesty may by Letters Patent appoint some person, qualified as aforesaid, to be such judge. *Whensoever* a vacancy shall occur in the office of official principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, the judge shall become *ex-officio* such official principal,.....and *whensoever* a vacancy shall occur in the office of official principal or auditor of the Chancery Court of York, the judge shall become *ex-officio* such official principal or auditor.....9. Unless the Bishop shall be of opinion, after considering the whole circumstances of the case, that proceedings should not be taken on the representationhe shall within twenty-one days after receiving the presentation transmit a copy thereof to the person complained of, and shall require such person, and also the person making the representation, to state in writing within twenty-one days whether they are willing to submit to the directions of the Bishop touching the matter of the said representation, without appeal; and if they shall state their willingness to submit to the directions of the Bishop without appeal, the Bishop shall forthwith proceed to hear the matter of the representation in such manner as he shall think fit, and shall pronounce such judgment and issue such monition (if any) as he may think proper, and no appeal shall lie from such judgment or monition.....If the person making the representation and the person complained of shall not, within the time aforesaid, state their willingness to submit to the directions of the Bishop, the Bishop shall forthwith transmit the representation in the mode prescribed by the rules and orders to the Archbishop of the province, and the Archbishop shall forthwith require the judge to hear the matter of the representation. (37 & 38 Vict. ch. 85.)¹

We are Supreme Governour of the Church of England: Andif any difference arise about the external Policy, concerning the *Injunctions, Canons,* and other *Constitutions* whatever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: and We approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions; providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land.....Out of our Princely Care that the Churchmen may do the Work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble desire, shall have Licence under Our Broad Seal to deliberate of, and to

do all such things, as, being made plain by them, and assented unto by us, shall concern the settled Continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established ; from which We will not endure any varying or departing in the least Degree. (Declaration of CHARLES I.)

The convocation of the province of Canterbury (for that of York seems never to have been important) is summoned by the Archbishop's writ, under the king's direction, along with every parliament, to which it bears analogy, both in its constituent parts and in its primary functions. It consists (since the reformation) of the suffragan bishops, forming the upper house, of the deans, archdeacons, a proctor or proxy for each chapter, and two from each diocese, elected by the parochial clergy, who together constitute the lower house. In this assembly subsidies were granted, and ecclesiastical canons enacted. In a few instances under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, they were consulted as to momentous questions affecting the national religion ; the supremacy of the former was approved in 1533, the articles of faith were confirmed in 1562, by the convocation. But their power to enact fresh canons without the king's licence was expressly taken away by a statute of Henry VIII., and even subject to this condition is limited by several later acts of parliament such as the acts of the uniformity under Elizabeth and Charles II.,..... and still more perhaps by the doctrine gradually established in Westminster Hall, that new ecclesiastical canons are not binding on the laity, so greatly that it will ever be impossible to exercise it in any effectual manner. The convocation accordingly with the exception of 1603, when they established some regulations, and of 1640 (an unfortunate precedent), when they attempted some more, had little business but to grant subsidies, which however were from the time of Henry VIII. always confirmed by an act of parliament ; an intimation, no doubt that the legislature did not wholly acquiesce in their power even of binding the clergy in a matter of property. This practice of Ecclesiastical taxation was silently discontinued in 1664 ; at a time when the authority and pre-eminence of the Church stood very high, so that it could not then have seemed the abandonment of an important privilege. From this time the clergy have been taxed at the same rate and in the same manner with the laity. It was the natural consequence of this cessation of all business, that the convocation, after a few formalities, either adjourned itself or was prorogued by a royal writ ; nor had it ever, with the few exceptions above noticed, sat for more than a few

days, till its supply could be voted. But, about the time of the revolution, the party most adverse to the new order sedulously propagated a doctrine that the convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the Church, and ought even to watch over its interests as the parliament did over those of the kingdom. [The first authority I have observed for this pretension is an address of the house of lords, 19 Nov. 1675, to the throne, for the frequent meeting of the convocation, and that they do make to the king such representations as may be for the safety of the religion established.....This address was renewed Feb. 22, 1677. But what took place in consequence I am not apprised. It shows however some degree of dissatisfaction on the part of the bishops, who must be presumed to have set forward these addresses, at the virtual annihilation of their synod which naturally followed from its relinquishment of self-taxation.] The commons had so far encouraged this faction as to refer to the convocation the great question of a reform in the liturgy for the sake of comprehension.....Though the bill of comprehension proposed to parliament went no farther than to have a few scrupled ceremonies at discretion, and to admit presbyterian ministers into the Church without pronouncing on the invalidity of their former ordination, it was mutilated in passing through the upper house; and the commons, after entertaining it for a time, substituted an address to the king, that he would call the house of convocation "to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters." It was of course necessary to follow this recommendation. But the lower house of convocation, as might be foreseen, threw every obstacle in the way of the king's enlarged policy. They chose a man as their prolocutor who had been forward in the worst conduct of the university of Oxford. They displayed in every thing a factious temper, which held the very names of concession and conciliation in abhorrence. Meanwhile a commission of divines, appointed under the great seal, had made a revision of the liturgy, in order to eradicate everything which could give a plausible ground of offence, as well as to render the service more perfect. Those of the high-church faction had soon seceded from this commission; and its deliberations were doubtless the more honest and rational for their absence. But, as the complacence of parliament towards Ecclesiastical authority had shown that no legislative measure could be forced against the resistance of the lower house of convocation, it was not thought expedient to lay before that synod of insolent priests the revised liturgy, which they would have employed as an engine of calumny against the bishops and the crown. The

scheme of comprehension, therefore, fell absolutely and finally to the ground.....There are indeed serious reasons why the boundaries of religious communion should be as widely extended as is consistent with its end and nature ; and among these the hardship and detriment of excluding conscientious men from the ministry is not the least. Nor is it less evident that from time to time, according to the progress of knowledge and reason, to remove defects and errors from the public service of the Church, even if they have not led to scandal or separation, is the bounden duty of its governors. But none of these considerations press much on the minds of statesmen ; and it was not to be expected that any administration should prosecute a religious reform for its own sake, at the hazard of that tranquillity and exterior unity which is in general the sole end for which they would deem such a reform worth attempting. Nor could it be dissembled that, so long as the endowments of a National church are supposed to require a sort of politic organization within the commonwealth, and a busy spirit of faction for their security, it will be convenient for the governors of the state, whenever they find this spirit adverse to them, as it was at the revolution, to preserve the strength of the dissenting sects as a counterpoise to that dangerous influence, which in protestant Churches, as well as that of Rome, has sometimes set up the interest of one order against that of the community.....Convocation was not suffered to sit much during the rest of the reign (of William III), to the great discontent of its ambitious hieragogues. The most celebrated of these, Atterbury, published a book, entitled the Rights and Privileges of an English Convocation, in answer to one by Wake, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. The speciousness of the former, sprinkled with competent learning on the subject, a graceful style, and an artful employment of topics, might easily delude, at least, the willing reader. Nothing indeed could on reflection, appear more inconclusive than Atterbury's arguments. Were we even to admit the perfect analogy of a convocation to a parliament, it could not be doubted that the king may, legally speaking, prologue the latter at his pleasure ; and that, if neither money were required to be granted nor laws to be enacted, a session would be very short. The Church had by prescription a right to be summoned in convocation ; but no prescription could be set up for its longer continuance than the crown thought expedient.....In the year 1701 the lower house of convocation pretended to a right of adjourning to a different day from that fixed by the upper, and consequently of holding separate sessions. They set

up other unprecedented claims to independence, which were checked by a prorogation. Their aim was in all respects to assimilate themselves to the house of commons, and thus both to set up the convocation itself as an assembly collateral to parliament, and in the main independent of it, and to maintain their co-ordinate power and equality in synodical dignity to the prelates' house. The succeeding reign however began under tory auspices; and the convocation was in more activity for some years than at any former period. The lower house of that assembly still distinguished itself by the most factious spirit, and especially by insolence towards the Bishops, who passed in general for whigs, and whom, while pretending to assert the divine rights of episcopacy, they laboured to deprive of that pre-eminence in the Anglican synod which the Ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom had bestowed on them. None was more prominent in their debates than Atterbury himself, whom, in the zenith of tory influence, at the close of her reign, the queen reluctantly promoted to the See of Rochester. The new government at first permitted the convocation to hold its sittings. But they soon excited a flame which consumed themselves by an attack on Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, who had preached a sermon abounding with those principles concerning religious liberty, of which he had long been the courageous and powerful assertor. The lower house of convocation thought fit to denounce, through the report of a committee, the dangerous tenets of this discourse, and of a work not long before published by the bishop. A long and celebrated war of pens instantly commenced, known by the name of the Bangorian controversy; managed, perhaps on both sides, with all the chicanery of polemical writers, and disgusting both from its tediousness, and from the manifest unwillingness of the disputants to speak ingenuously what they meant. These qualities are so apparent, that after turning over some forty or fifty tracts, and consuming a good many hours on the Bangorian controversy, I should find some difficulty in stating with precision the propositions in dispute. It is, however, evident that a dislike, not perhaps exactly to the house of Brunswick, but to the tenor of George I's administration, and to Hoadley himself as an eminent advocate for it, who had been rewarded accordingly, was at the bottom a leading motive with most of the Church party; some of whom, such as Hare, though originally of a whig connexion; might have had disappointments to exasperate them. There was nothing whatever in Hoadley's sermon injurious to the established endowments and privileges, nor to the discipline and government,

of the English church, even in theory. If this had been the case, he might be reproached with some inconsistency in becoming so large a partaker of her honours and emoluments. He even admitted the usefulness of censures for open immoralities, though denying all church authority to oblige any one to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God.

[Another great question in this controversy was that of religious liberty, as a civil right, which the convocation explicitly denied. And another related to the much debated exercise of private judgment in religion, which, as one party meant virtually to take away, so the other perhaps unreasonably exaggerated. Some other disputes arose in the course of the combat, particularly the delicate problem of the value of sincerity as a plea for material errors.] (vol. III. ch. 16.)¹

If.....the church of Christ be the kingdom of Christ, it is essential to it that Christ himself be the sole lawgiver and sole judge of his subjects, in all points relating to the favour or displeasure of Almighty God; and that all his subjects, in what station soever they may be, are equally subjects to him; and that no one of them, any more than another, hath authority either to make new laws for Christ's subjects; or to impose a sense upon the old ones, which is the same thing; or to judge, censure, or punish the servants of another master, in matters relating purely to conscience or salvation. If any person hath any other notion, either through a long use of words with inconsistent meanings, or through a negligence of thought, let him but ask himself whether the church of Christ be the kingdom of Christ or not; and if it be, whether this notion of it doth not absolutely exclude all other legislators and judges in matters relating to conscience or the favour of God, or whether it can be His kingdom if any mortal man have such a power of legislation and judgment in it. This inquiry will bring us back to the first, which is the only true account of the church of Christ, or the kingdom of Christ, in the mouth of a Christian; that it is the number of men, whether small or great, whether dispersed or united, who truly and sincerely are subjects to Jesus Christ alone as their lawgiver and judge in matters relating to the favour of God and their eternal salvation. The next principal point is, that, if the church be the kingdom of Christ, and this 'kingdom be not of this world,' this must appear from the nature and end of the laws of Christ, and of those rewards and punishments which are the sanctions of his laws. Now, his

1. Hallam.

laws are declarations relating to the favour of God in another state after this. They are declarations of those conditions to be performed in this world on our part, without which God will not make us happy in that to come. And they are almost all general appeals to the will of that God; to His nature, known by the common reason of mankind, and to the imitation of that nature, which must be our perfection. The keeping his commandments is declared the way to life, and the doing his will the entrance into the kingdom of heaven. The being subjects to Christ, is to this very end, that we may the better and more effectually perform the will of God. The laws of this kingdom, therefore, as Christ left them, have nothing of this world in their view; no tendency either to the exultation of some in worldly pomp and dignity, or to their absolute dominion over the faith and religious conduct of others of his subjects, or to the erecting of any sort of temporal kingdom under the covert and name of a spiritual one. The sanctions of Christ's law are rewards and punishments. But of what sort? Not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this state; not the pains of prisons, banishments, fines, or any lesser or more moderate penalties; nay, not the much lesser negative discouragements that belong to human society. He was far from thinking that these could be the instruments of such a persuasion as he thought acceptable to God. But, as the great end of his kingdom was to guide men to happiness after the short images of it were over here below, so he took his motives from that place where his kingdom first began, and where it was at last to end: from those rewards and punishments in a future state, which had no relation to this world; and to show that his 'kingdom was not of this world,' all the sanctions which he thought fit to give to his laws were not of this world at all. (Hoadley.)

But, as the principles of Hoadley and his advocates appeared, in the main, little else than those of protestantism and toleration, the sentence of the laity, in the temper that was then gaining ground as to ecclesiastical subjects, was soon pronounced in their favour; and the high-church party discredited themselves by an opposition to what now pass for the incontrovertible truisms of religious liberty. In the ferment of that age, it was expedient for the state to scatter a little dust over the angry insects; the convocation was accordingly prorogued in 1717, and has never again sat for any business (1829).

Those who are imbued with high notions of sacerdotal power have sometimes deplored this extinction of the Anglican great

council ; and though its necessity, as I have already observed, cannot possibly be defended as an ancient part of the constitution, there are not wanting specious arguments for the expediency of such a synod. It might be argued that the Church, considered only as an integral member of the commonwealth, and the greatest corporation within it, might justly claim that right of managing its own affairs which belongs to every other association ; that the argument from abuse is not sufficient, and is rejected with indignation when applied, as historically it might be, to representative governments, and to civil liberty ; that in the present state of things, no reformation even of secondary importance can be effected without difficulty, nor any looked for in greater matters, both from the indifference of the legislature, and the reluctance of the Clergy to admit its interposition. It is answered to these suggestions, that we must take experience when we possess it, rather than analogy, for our guide ; that Ecclesiastical assemblies have in all ages and countries been mischievous, where they have been powerful, which that of our wealthy and numerous Clergy must always be ; that, if however, the convocation could be brought under the management of the state, (which by the nature of its component parts might seem not unlikely), it must lead to the promotion of servile men, and the exclusion of merit still more than at present ; that the severe remark of Clarendon, who observes that of all mankind none form so bad an estimate of human affairs as Churchmen, is abundantly confirmed by experience ; that the representation of the Church in the house of lords is sufficient for the protection of its interests ; that the Clergy have an influence which no other corporation enjoys over the bulk of the nation, and are apt to abuse it for the purpose of undue ascendancy, unjust restraint, or factious ambition ; that the hope of any real good in reformation of the Church by its own assemblies, to whatever sort of reform we may look, is utterly chimerical ; finally, that as the laws now stand, which few would incline to alter, the ratification of parliament must be indispensable for any material change. It seems to admit of no doubt that these reasonings ought much to outweigh those on the opposite side. (vol. III. ch. 16.)¹

Mr. J. Cross is doing (has done) a very good work in explaining the Church constitutions which have grown up in our Church outside England. We have a deal to learn from them, and I believe that our future prosperity will depend on our judicious use of the principles worked out in them, and in forming an assembly like theirs, which may recommend Church laws to Parliament. (F. H. Dickinson.)

Thanks to the admirable talent for the work of a founder and organiser possessed by the first Bishop of New Zealand, thanks also to a freedom which the Church in that colony has ever enjoyed, its constitution ecclesiastical possesses at once a complete and remarkable symmetry, together with a power of extension and a capacity for free organic growth.....The constitution of the Church of New Zealand contains six provisions, called fundamental.....The clause constituting the General Synod provides that "there shall be a representative governing body for the management of the affairs of the Church,which shall consist of three distinct orders...viz., the Bishops, the clergy, and the laity, the consent of all which orders shall be necessary to all acts binding upon the synod, and upon all persons recognizing its authority." The main provisions in the formation of the General Synod are these. The General Synod consists of the Bishops, and of not less than three clerical and four lay representatives from each diocese. For the election of clerical representatives every licenced clergyman has a vote for the diocese to which he belongs, and may himself be elected either for that diocese or for any other. Lay representatives must be communicant members of the Church, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and must have signed a declaration that they are members of the Church in a register kept for that purpose in the vestry of each parish church. For the election of lay representations, all laymen of the age of twenty-one and upwards are qualified to vote, provided they have signed their names in the church registers, but "no person shall be taken to have been duly registered unless his name shall have been entered two months at least before the day of election." The clerical and lay representatives are chosen at a general election held once in every three years, and the synod meets triennially, sitting generally as one chamber. The presence of two Bishops, six clerical representatives, and nine lay representatives is necessary to form a quorum. The General Synod possesses powers of determining all patronage ; of forming regulations for the management of all trusts ; of deposing all "clergymen, trustees, catechists, churchwardens, schoolmasters, and other officers or agents ;" of appointing tribunals to decide questions of doctrine or discipline, and a court of appeal ; and, finally, of delegating its powers to a commission either for a special purpose or under general regulations. The authority of the synod is secured by the proviso that none shall be admitted to any office under its jurisdiction (a condition which includes every office in the New Zealand Church), except after signing a declaration of

subscription to its authority, and a promise to resign all office, rights, and emoluments whenever called upon by its voice to do so.....The General Synod meets triennially but a "standing commission" for "deciding doubts in the interpretation of statutes, for the interpretation of trust deeds, and for other purposes," provides for the continuous government of the Church. The standing commission consists of five members appointed by the General Synod. The questions hitherto laid before it have been chiefly such as concern the interpretation of trust deeds, but its existence secures to the Church a standing body of referees with power to decide pressing questions until the next session of the General Synod. All questions put to the standing commission and all decisions given by it are without delay made known to the various dioceses, and not merely to the diocese concerned, through the medium of the diocesan synod.

The general government of the Church being thus organized, a similar machinery is extended throughout the subordinate dioceses, and kept in working order by continual use. Diocesan synods form the parliament of each diocese. They are framed upon the same plan as the General Synod, but vary in minor details, since each frames its own standing orders and regulations. The qualification both of voters and of synodsmen are the same as those already described—viz., all synodsmen must be communicants, and all voters must be registered Church members. The synod consists of the Bishop, of all the licensed clergy of the diocese, and of not less than one lay representative for every parish or parochial district. It is elected triennially in some dioceses, annually in others, and meets annually. The presence of the Bishop, or his commissary, of one-fourth of the clergy of the diocese, and of one-fourth of the lay synodsmen, is necessary to constitute a quorum. The three orders meet together in one chamber, but vote separately, and the assent of the Bishop and of a majority of each order, voting separately, is necessary to constitute an act of the Synod. These diocesan synods are by no means mere powerless talking conventions. They may exercise all powers necessary for the order and good government of the Church in the diocese, subject to appeal to the General Synod. Any regulation, moreover, assented to by all the diocesan synods, with a view to its acquiring the force of a regulation of the General Synod, possesses that power. Diocesan synods possess also the power of limiting in some sense the action of the General Synod, by the provision of the constitution, that no alteration shall be made in the constitution itself until it shall have been

proposed and discussed at the General Synod, made known to the diocesan synods, and assented to by them, and finally agreed to in the next meeting of the General Synod. From the diocesan synod proceeds the nomination of a Bishop for the diocese, and all regulations concerning patronage are framed by the same body, provided that the regulations of the General Synod be not infringed. Like the General Synod, each diocesan assembly can, and does, delegate its powers to a standing commission, appointed annually from among the members of the synod, and forming a permanent consulting board for the assistance of the Bishop..... The important subject of patronage, which is regulated by the synods, naturally claims a place in our notice of the constitution and synodical action of the Church. The scheme of patronage is very simple. There is no private patronage, and therefore no traffic in livings, and very little Episcopal patronage, and therefore no "black-lists" of nepotism. All officers are elective, and each ecclesiastical body, whether diocese or parish, elects its own officers. If the primacy fall vacant, the General Synod elects a Primate from among the Bishops. To a vacant diocese the diocesan synod nominates a Bishop. To a vacant cure a board of nominators, appointed in part by the parish itself, in part by the diocesan synod, presents a clergyman to the Bishop for institution. By the appointment of a board of nominators for each parish the scandals of a popular election are avoided. The statute regulating these appointments runs as follows:—"The trust of selecting a clergyman and nominating him to the Bishop for institution to a vacant cure of souls shall be vested in nominators chosen by the diocesan synod and by the vestry of the parish" (all necessarily communicants) "respectively: the number of nominators for each body, and the time and manner of election, shall be determined by the diocesan synods." The vestries consist of not less than three or more than ten representative parishioners, elected annually by the registered members of the Church from among the communicants of the parish. Each vestry annually appoints in some cases three, and in some cases four, parochial nominators, and the synod of the diocese appoints a corresponding number of diocesan nominators for the whole diocese. When a cure falls vacant, a majority of two-thirds of the whole board of nominators presents to the Bishop a clergyman for institution. The Bishop has the right of veto, subject to appeal to the House of Bishops; but may, and no doubt does, often exercise a salutary and legitimate influence on the choice of the nominating boards. The same principle of election extends to

the higher offices. Bishops are chosen by the synod of the diocese which they are to rule. Their election must, however, be confirmed by the General Synod, before the Primate, or, if the primacy be vacant, the senior Bishops, may proceed to take steps for the consecration of the Bishop-elect. The scheme of patronage, therefore, is simple, and perhaps too uniform. No private person is allowed to possess any rights as patron beyond the first appointment of a pastor, which in certain cases is ceded to the founder of a church. With this sole exception all offices are elective, the evils and scandals of a popular election to a vacant benefice being avoided by the appointment of boards of nominators. In England, from the peculiar constitution of vestries, such a system would throw the power of election indirectly, if not directly, into the hands of a body consisting partly of Churchmen, partly of Non-conformists.....The clause of the constitution for the appointment of tribunals runs as follows:—"The General Synod shall establish a tribunal, or tribunals, in New Zealand, for the purpose of deciding all questions of doctrine and discipline; and also may establish a Court or Courts of Appeal from the decision of any such tribunal." Obedience to the decisions of such tribunals is secured by the declaration of submission to the authority of the General Synod required from all office-bearers in the Church, whether clerical or lay. All persons in holy orders who hold any spiritual charge or cure in New Zealand, and all laymen who have accepted any charge, office, or trust in the Church, are amenable to the jurisdiction of the Bishop's Diocesan Court, which takes cognisance of moral offences as well as of cases of doctrine or practice. Uniformity in the doctrinal and ritual decisions of the various diocesan courts is secured by the provision, that in all such questions the case must be submitted to the whole bench of Bishops, and that no decision can be given unless the whole bench be unanimously of opinion that the doctrine or practice complained of is contrary to, or accords with the authorised teaching or practice of the church. If the Bishops be not unanimous the case falls through, and the complainant is liable for the costs of the suit. The constitution of the Bishop's Court is simple. It consists of a chancellor, advocate, and registrar of the diocese, appointed by the Bishop, and of not less than four clerical and four lay assessors appointed by the Bishop and diocesan synod. This Court decides as to matters of fact, the Bishop acts as judge. A Court of First Instance is provided by the existence of the standing commission in each diocese, who, with the Bishop, may dismiss any case if they are of opinion that there is no sufficient

cause for instituting further proceedings, and if of opinion that the charge is frivolous and vexatious, may order the complainant to pay all the costs. In case of moral offences the defendant, if found guilty, and in cases of doctrine or practice either party, if dissatisfied with the verdict, may apply within seven days to the Chancellor, in open court, for a fresh trial before other assessors, on the ground that the verdict is contrary to the evidence. But there does not appear to be any other method of appeal. Charges against a Bishop must be preferred in the diocesan court of the Primate, or, if they be against the Primate, in the diocesan court of the senior Bishop other than the Primate. The course of proceedings in such cases is the same as in ordinary cases, save only that the assessors acting as jury shall be two Bishops, two clergymen, and two laymen. Complaints may be lodged by any registered Church member resident in the diocese in which the offence is alleged to have been committed, and personally aggrieved thereby. He must, however, execute a bond binding himself to pay all such costs and expenses of the proceedings as he may be ordered by the Chancellor to pay. As far as the writer is aware, the Church of New Zealand has not yet been disturbed by cases of a doctrinal or ritual character. The existence of the standing commission in each diocese provides a recognised body of referees, and such disputes as have arisen have as yet been amicably decided by the Bishop *in camerâ*, without any recourse to a court of law.

The constitution of the Church of New Zealand will, no doubt, be seen from the above short sketch to be somewhat democratic in character. At the same time, the fact that in both the Diocesan and General Synods each order—Bishops, clergy, and laity,—votes separately, and that a majority in each order, voting separately, is necessary to constitute an act of the synod, secures any order against legislation forced upon it by either of the other two. Up to the present time the practical effect of legislation has been to secure a sober and steady medium both in doctrine and ritual. (The Guardian, Sept. 1st. 1875.).

There are some, who, in their abhorrence and dread of principles and practices subversive of all good order, and tending to anarchy and to every kind of extravagance, have thought—or, at least, professed to think—that we are bound to seek for a distinct authoritative sanction in the Scriptures, or *in some other ancient writings*,—some *Tradition*, in short,—for each separate point which we would maintain. [By “Ancient,” some persons understand what belongs to the first *three* centuries of the Christian

era ; some, the first four ; some, seven ; so arbitrary and uncertain is the standard by which some would persuade us to try questions, on which they, at the same time, teach us to believe our Christian Faith and Christian Hope are stated !] They assume, that whatever Doctrines or practices, whatever institutions, whatever regulations respecting Church-government, we can conclude, either with certainty or with any degree of probability, to have been either introduced by the Apostles, or to have prevailed in their time, or in the time of their immediate successors, are to be considered as absolutely binding on all Christians for ever—as a model from which no Church is at liberty to depart. And they make our membership of the Church of Christ, and our hopes of the Gospel-salvation, depend on an exact adherence to every thing that is proved, or believed, or even suspected, to be an Apostolical usage ; and on our possessing what they call Apostolical Succession ;—that is, on our having a *Ministry* whose descent can be traced up in an unbroken and undoubted chain, to the Apostles themselves, through men regularly ordained by them or their successors, according to the exact forms originally appointed. And all Christians (so called) who do not come under this description, are to be regarded either as outcasts from “the Household of Faith,” or, at best, as in a condition “analogous to that of the Samaritans of old,” who worshipped on Mount Gerizim, or as in “an intermediate state between Christianity and Heathenism,” and as “left to the uncovenanted mercies of God.” Those who on such grounds defend the institutions and ordinances, and vindicate the Apostolical character, of our own (or, indeed, of any) Church,—whether on their own sincere conviction, or as believing that such arguments are the best calculated to inspire the mass of mankind with becoming reverence, and to repress the evil of schism,—do seem to me, in proportion as they proceed on these principles, to be, in the same degree, removing our institutions from a foundation on a rock, to place them on sand. Instead of a clearly-intelligible, well-established, and *accessible* proof of Divine sanction for the claims of our Church, they would substitute one that is not only obscure, disputable, and out of the reach of the mass of mankind, but even self-contradictory subversive of our own, and every Church’s claims, and leading to the very evils of doubt, and schismatical division, which it is desired to guard against.

It is curious to observe how very common it is for any sect or party to assume a title indicative of the very excellence in which they are especially deficient, or strongly condemnatory of the

very errors with which they are especially chargeable.....The phrase "Catholic" religion, (*i. e.*, "Universal,") is the most commonly in the mouths of those who are the most limited and *exclusive* in their views, and who seek to shut out the largest number of Christian communities from the Gospel-Covenant. "Schism," again, is by none more loudly reprobated than by those who are not only the immediate authors of schism, but the advocates of principles tending to generate and perpetuate schisms without end.

Even if there is any thing which we can be morally certain *was* practised in the time of the Apostles, and with their sanction, we must yet consider it is not designed by them to be of universal and perpetual obligation, where they have not distinctly laid it down as such in their writings. By omitting, in any case, thus to record certain of their practices or directions, they have given us as clear an indication as we could have looked for, of their design to leave these to the free choice and decision of each Church, in each age and country. And there seems every reason to think that it was on purpose to avoid misapprehensions of this kind, that they did leave unrecorded so much of what we cannot but be sure they must have practised, and said, and established, in the Churches under their own immediate care. And it should be remembered, that what some persons consider as the *safe* side of such points,—as the extreme of scrupulous and cautious veneration,—is, in truth the reverse. A wise and right-minded reverence for Divine authority, will render us doubly scrupulous of reckoning anything as a Divine precept or institution, without sufficient warrant. Yet, at the first glance, a readiness to bestow religious veneration, with or without good grounds, (which is the very characteristic of superstition) is apt to be mistaken for a sign of pre-eminent piety. Besides those who hold the 'double Doctrine'—the '*disciplina arcani*'—and concerning whom, therefore, it would be rash to pronounce whether any particular tenet taught by them is one, which they inwardly believe, or is one of the exoteric instructions deemed expedient for the multitude; besides these persons, there are, no doubt, men of sincere, though mistaken piety, who as has been just intimated, consider it as the safe side in all doubtful cases, to adhere with unhesitating confidence to every thing that *may possibly* have been introduced or practised by the Apostles; to make every thing an article of Christian Faith that could have been implied in any thing they may have taught. But such persons would perceive, on more careful and sober reflection, that

a rightly-scrupulous piety consists, as has been said, in drawing the line as distinctly as we are able, between what is, and what is not, *designed* by our Divine instructors as a portion of their authoritative precepts and directions. It is by this careful anxiety to *comply with their intention with respect to us*, that we are to manifest a true veneration for them. Anything that does not fall within this rule, we may believe, but not as a part of the *Christian Revelation*; we may practise, but not as a portion of the *Divine institutions essential to a Christian Church*, and binding on all men in all ages: not, in short, as something placed beyond the bounds of that 'binding and loosing' power which belongs to *every Church*, in reference to things neither enjoined in Scripture, nor at variance with it. Otherwise, even though what we believe should be, really and in itself, true, and though what we practice, should chance to be, in fact, what the Apostles did practise, we should not be honouring, but dishonouring God, by taking upon ourselves to give the sanction of his authority to that from which He has thought fit to withhold that sanction. When the Apostle Paul gave his advice on matters respecting which he 'had no commandment from the Lord,' he, of course, thought that what he was recommending was good; but, so far was he from presuming to put it forth as a Divine command, that he expressly notified the contrary. Let us not think to manifest our pious humility by reversing the Apostle's procedure! (Whately).

There came to Him one of the people and said, 'Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me.' That is to say, he demanded that Jesus should busy Himself with the settlement of civil matters; but the Lord said to him, 'Man, who made Me a Judge or a Divider over you?' Earthly possession He neither distributed by judicial decision nor administered..... In like manner He taught His first disciples, whom He gathered unto Himself, to distinguish His kingdom from the kingdoms of the world..... The Saviour, with sublime earnestness revealed to the astonished disciples the difference between His kingdom and those of the earth, that is, between Church and State, both in their outward appearance and in their mode of government:—'The kings of the Gentiles rule over them as lords over their property, and they that exercise authority upon them (the nations) are called benefactors (gracious lords). But ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.'..... Pilate drew from Christ's answer the right conclusion: 'Art Thou a king then?' and the Lord answered 'Yea,' and then declared that His kingdom was the

kingdom of truth, to found which He was born and came into the world.....As a matter of fact, too, He was subject to the worldly magistracy although it was a *pagan* authority. He was obedient unhesitatingly and uncomplainingly, even to the extent of submitting in silence to the unrighteous judge. Never did He at any time use His influence with the people, in order to excite them against the Roman Government ; in no way did He excuse disobedience to the laws or declare laws to be invalidThus have we our example in the Lord, and he who acts otherwise is not His disciple.....When Jesus was making known by word and example His doctrine of the difference between His kingdom and those of the world, and of the duty of obedience to the superior power, that superior power was represented by the Roman Emperor Tiberius.....They do not scruple, by the order and after the example of their Lord the Pope, to bid the people use as a cloak for transgression of the laws and for opposition to the appointments of the worldly superior the words of the Apostles, 'We must obey God rather than man,' and so to conceal the fact that the Apostles spoke these words, not against such (laws and appointments), but against the High Priest and the spiritual superior in Jerusalem. Worse even than this, when they speak of God, they (the Bishops) mean a man. In their lips these words mean, 'We must obey the Pope, rather than the national Sovereign and the Government, rather than the State Constitution and the laws. The question at issue is not one of the commandments of God, but of the laws of the Pope.....The Church of God upon earth is indeed called the Militant Church, but not because the Church superiors.....have to fight incessantly against the appointments of the State.....The enemy against which the Church has to contend is *sin*: this foe is in the heart of men. (Reinkens).

Your holiness is not perhaps aware how near the churches of us Protestants have at length come to those privileges and perfections which you boast of as peculiar to your own : so near, that many of the most quick-sighted and sagacious persons have not been able to discover any other difference between us, as to the main principle of all doctrine, government, worship, and discipline, but this one, namely, that you *cannot* err in anything you determine, and we never *do* : that is, in other words, that you are infallible, and we always in the right. We cannot but esteem the advantage to be exceedingly on our side in this case ; because we have all the benefits of infallibility without the absurdity of pretending to it, and without the uneasy task of maintaining a point so shocking to the understanding of mankind. And you must pardon us if we cannot help thinking it to be as great and as glorious a privilege in *us* to be always in the right, without the pretence to infallibility, as it can be in *you* to be always in the wrong with it. Thus, the Synod of Dort (for whose unerring decisions public thanks to Almighty God are every three years offered up with the greatest solemnity by the magistrates in that country), the councils of the reformed in France, the assembly of the kirk of Scotland, and (if I may presume to name it) the convocation of England, have been all found to have the very same unquestionable authority which your church claims, solely upon the infallibility which resides in it ; and the people to be under the very same strict obligation of obedience to their determinations, which with you is the consequence only of an absolute infallibility. The reason, therefore, why we do not openly set up an infallibility is, because we can do without it. Authority results as well from power as from right, and a majority of votes is as strong a foundation for it as infallibility itself. Councils that *may* err, never *do* ; and besides, being composed of men whose peculiar business it is to be in the right, it is very immodest for any private person to think them not so ; because this is to set up a private corrupted understanding above a public uncorrupted judgment. Thus it is in the north, as well as the south ; abroad as well as at home. All maintain the exercise of the same authority in themselves, which yet they know not how so much as to speak of without ridicule in others.

In England it stands thus : The synod of Dort is of no weight ; it determined many doctrines wrong. The assembly of Scotland hath nothing of a true authority : and is very much out in its scheme of doctrines, worship, and government. But the church of England is vested with all authority, and justly challengeth all obedience. If one crosses a river in the north, there it stands thus : The church of England is not enough reformed ; its doctrines, worship, and government, have too much of antichristian Rome in them. But the kirk of Scotland hath a divine right from its only head, Jesus Christ, to meet and to enact what to it shall seem fit, for the good of his church. Thus, we left you for your enormous unjustifiable claim to an unerring spirit, and have found out a way, unknown to your holiness and your predecessors, of claiming all the rights that belong to infallibility, even whilst we disclaim and abjure the thing itself.

As for us of the church of England, if we will believe many of its greatest advocates, we have bishops in a succession as certainly uninterrupted from the apostles, as your church could communicate it to us. And upon this bottom, which makes us a true church, *we* have a right to separate from *you* ; but no persons living have a right to differ or separate from *us*. And they, again, who differ from us, value themselves upon something or other in which we are supposed defective, or upon being free from some superfluities which we enjoy ; and think it hard, that any will be still going further, and refine upon their scheme of worship and discipline. Thus we have indeed left *you* ; but we have fixed ourselves in your seat, and make no scruple to resemble you in our defences of ourselves and censures of others whenever we think it proper.....We have not indeed now the power of burning heretics, as our forefathers of the reformation had. The civil power hath taken away the act which continued that glorious privilege to them, upon the remonstrance of several persons that they could not sleep whilst that act was awake. But then, every thing on this side of death stills remains untouched to us : we can molest, harass, imprison, and ruin any man who pretends to be wiser than his betters. And the more unspotted the man's character is, the more necessary we think it to take such crushing methods. Since the toleration hath been authorised in these nations, the legal zeal of men hath fallen the heavier upon heretics (for it must always, it seems, be exercised upon some sort of persons or other) ; and amongst these, chiefly upon such as differ from us in points in which, above all others, a difference of opinion is most allowable ; such as are acknowledged to be very abstruse and unintelligible, and to have been in all ages thought of and judged of with the same difference and variety. [Dedication to Pope Clement XI. prefixed to Sir R. Skele's Account.]







